Health or Appearance? Reasons for Exercise, Body Image and Self-Esteem in Males.

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"Only now do we recognise how
little at home we are within ourselves"

(Theweleit, 1987)

Abstract

Research on body image and its correlates has, until recently, focused predominantly upon women. Particularly lacking in the area of male body image research are studies that are qualitative in their approach. This research utilised methodological triangulation. The qualitative methodology, discourse analysis, examined the experiences of thirty mainly Paheka men, who were between the ages of 22 and 35, with regards to such issues as: the effect of exercise and sport involvement; eating behaviour/ and attitudes; body size/shape; the impact of the opinion of others. The results of the qualitative analysis were broadly consistent with previous research on the body image perceptions of men, and centered around: the definition of the ideal body; sites of body dissatisfaction; the relation of body image to self-esteem; the role of body image and exercise in male identity development in the wider social context. The quantitative component compared the reasons for exercise, self-esteem and body satisfaction in 80 men, 40 exercising and 40 sedentary. The quantitative results were in agreement of the qualitative results: a majority of men (80%) reported body dissatisfaction; self-esteem was positively correlated with body satisfaction; the most important reasons for exercise were health and attractiveness. The only significant finding being 'body focus' greater in exercising men than the non-exercising men. How this study fits into the growing volume of knowledge on male body image is considered, as are the implications of the research findings before directions for possible future research are presented.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Body Image: Construct and Measurement Issues.

1.1 Definitions

The construct of body image is a complex one. Awareness of the body is inextricably linked to awareness of self and the concept of being (Fisher, 1986). It is little wonder that researchers have struggled with defining the concept. Many researchers have noted that there is no one definition of body image (Bruch, 1973, Shontz, 1974, Garner and Garfinkel, 1981) and that it does not make sense to refer to body image as a simple uni-dimensional construct Fisher (1990).

Ever since the introduction of the body image concept by Schilder in 1935, the definition has challenged researchers. Their efforts have resulted in a variety of diverse descriptions in many of which the term "body image " is interchanged with the terms "body concept, " "body percept, " "body schema, " "body ego," or "body boundaries " (Van Der Velde, 1985).

Fisher (1990) notes that many of the branches of body image research are disconnected from one another, with cross references between different areas at best sparse. Fisher (1990) lists nine primary areas of inquiry into body image:

1. Perception and evaluation of one's own body appearance.
2. Accuracy of perception of one's body size.
3. Accuracy of perception of one's body sensation.
4. Ability to judge the spatial position of one's body.
5. Feelings about the definiteness and protective value of the body boundaries.

6. Distortions in body sensations and experiences associated with psychopathology and brain damage.
7. Responses to body damage, loss of parts, and surgery.
8. Responses to various procedures designed to camouflage the body cosmetically or somehow "improve" it.
9. Attitudes and feelings pertinent to the sexual identity of one's body.

This list is indicative of the complexity of the body image construct, and suggests that any technique or line of inquiry can only hope to measure a fragment of the multi-dimensional concept which is "body image. " In addition, it signifies difficulties in the general understanding of how humans perceive their body. It also becomes apparent that the phrase body image has been used as an umbrella label with its specific meaning depending on an individual researcher's definition.

Culturally bound and consensually validated definitions of what is desirable and attractive play an important part in the development of body image. One's body image includes one's perception of the cultural standards, one's perception of the extent to which one matches the standard, and the perception of the relative importance that members of the cultural group and the individual place on that match (Fallon, 1992). It is important to recognise the assumption that body image is a uni-dimensional construct. However as mentioned by Fisher (1990), it is clearly not. The critical link is the relation of culturally bound body image to the actual development of body image.

Researchers with an interest in eating disorders have played a major role in investigating aspects of body image related to body size, appearance and weight concerns, sometimes referred to as body satisfaction. In 1962, Bruch wrote about anorexia nervosa noting "the distortion of body image associated with it: the absence of concern about emaciation, even when

advanced" (p.189). Since that time the literature about eating disorders contains numerous references to the fact the men and women suffering from eating disorders have disturbances in their body image. Investigations have identified several conceptual and measurement issues.

1.2 Conceptual and Measurement Issues

Garner and Garfinkel (1981) suggested that body image disturbance can be divided into two domains. The first is the perception and evaluation of one's own body appearance. The second is accuracy of perception of one's own body size. The latter has often been referred to as " body-image distortion" or "size-estimation accuracy" and has more to do with the perception of one's own body. The former, on the other hand is concerned with the subjective component of how one's own body appears, termed Body-dissatisfaction. This subjective component is concerned with attitudes toward body size/weight, either looking at body parts or overall physical appearance.

During the last few decades, many studies attempted to measure body image in relation to eating disorders. Several comprehensive reviews (Cash and Brown, 1987: Hsu & Sobkiewicz, 1991; Warah, 1989) note problems with operationalising and measuring the body image construct. Most research has concentrated on only one or two dimensions of body image. Some of this research has added to the confusion about the term "body image" by failing to state clearly that they are measuring only a limited part of the body image construct or by confusing measurements of perception with measurements of attitude.

Initially the most frequently studied aspect of body image in individuals with eating disorders was the perceptual aspect. Research has found that their is a wide variety of measurement techniques used with marked inconsistencies. Different measurement techniques tend to obtain

different findings. Body size overestimation, which was initially thought to be characteristic of women with eating disorders, is also common in control subjects without eating disorders (Cash and Brown,1987; Hsu and Sobkiewicz , 1991).

Attitudinal (affective and cognitive) measures have recently become a more common measure of body image. BenTovim and Walker (1991) suggest that attitudes and feelings about the body are a particularly relevant measure of body image. They suggest that other methods of measuring body image are so influenced by attitudinal variables that they themselves are indirect measures of attitudes.

It has become common practice to employ more than one measure when assessing body image. Overall feelings of satisfaction and attractiveness can be separated from satisfaction with specific body parts and Ben-Tovim and Walker (1991) have suggested that the concept of a single general factor of body satisfaction is not tenable.

The relation between perceptual and attitudinal measures of body image is unclear. Thompson and Dolce (1989) have demonstrated that asking about one's body will elicit different results than asking feelings towards the body. With little research done in this area, Thompson and Dolce (1989) conclude in their review that there are data to indicate whether feelings about the body correlate with the perception of the body.

The majority of research on body image has been on women, who constitute 90% of the eating disordered population (Striegel-Moore, Silberstein, & Rodin, 1986). Accordingly, there is little research on body image in men, and of the research conducted, most is comparative to a female population. There are several differences in body image of men and women, which will be addressed further in chapter two.

Other components of body image, such as those listed by Fisher (1990) above, have not been studied in relation to weight and body size concerns.

However, the study of some of these alternative facets of body image (e.g., accuracy of perception of one's body sensations) may advance understanding about body image disturbance in both men and women in the future.

1.3 Body Image in the General Male Population

It is clear that many males who do not have eating disorders also suffer from concerns about appearance and weight (Silberstein, Striegel-Moore, Timko & Rodin, 1988). In contrast to women, dissatisfaction with body image in men tends to be divided equally in both directions; weight gain and weight loss (Dibase and Hjelle, 1968; Davis, Elliott, Dionne, and Mitchell, 1991; Drewnowski & Yee, 1987; Connor-Greene, 1988).

A large population survey indicates that a majority of men are concerned about their weight and appearance (Cash, Winstead and Janda, 1986; Allison, Trisdorfer and Pertschuk, 1994). More than half of the men in the Allison et al. (1994) survey expressed dissatisfaction about their weight, with a similar percentage expressing dissatisfaction with their body size. The direction of body dissatisfaction was divided between increase and decrease in size.

Direction of body dissatisfaction may be specific to certain age groups. Studies with high-school and university students have shown that the chief male concern is to gain weight, size, and strength (Dwyer, Feldman, Seltzer, & Mayer, 1969; Gray, 1977). Tucker (1982) found that almost 70% of university-age men were dissatisfied with their body image and preferred the more muscular ideal. The more muscular body image was in turn associated with added weight (Huenemann, Shapiro, Hampton, & Mitchell, 1966).

Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein and Streigel-Moore (1986) reported that male body dissatisfaction is not general and diffuse but highly specific and differentiated. Men consistently express their greatest dissatisfaction toward

chest, weight, and waist. This finding has been reported by clinical studies of men (McDonald and Thompson 1992; Silberstein, Streigel-Moore, Timko and Rodin 1988; Franzoi and Shields, 1984) and general population studies (Cash et al., 1986; Allison, 1994).

1.4 Summary and Conclusions

This brief overview of body image and its measurement provides an indication of the complexity of the body image concept and the difficulties associated with its measurement. Body image is a multi-faceted concept that requires multiple measurement techniques. Measurement currently used in assessing body image addresses only some of its important components. For clarity of discussion it is essential to recognise these limitations, and to avoid making conceptual leaps from a simple measure to a complex construct.

When discussing body image studies it is important to specify which aspect of body image is being measured and how. This avoids confusion created by discussing all measures as if there were one accepted concept of body image. In the body image studies discussed in the following sections, the actual measurements used will be stated where possible.

Research has suggested two key points in the assessment of body image. Firstly, the concept of a single general factor of body satisfaction is not tenable. Secondly, there is no clear relationship that indicates whether feelings about the body correlate with the perception of the body.

The current investigation focuses on body image as it pertains to self-esteem, body satisfaction, and reasons for exercise in a sample of men from the general population. The central focus of this study is the affective and cognitive component of these concerns and is hereafter referred to as body satisfaction.

Chapter 2.

Factors Related to Body Satisfaction

Hundreds of studies address the relation between body satisfaction and other factors. An extensive literature review is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, major findings are outlined below and supported by examples from the literature.

2.1 Gender

One of the most persistent findings in studies of body image is that females report lower levels of satisfaction with their own bodies than males. Accordingly, there is considerable evidence that weight preoccupation and body dissatisfaction are widespread among women during adolescence and early adulthood. For a review, the reader is directed to Garner, Garfinkel and Olmstead (1983).

More recently, it has been suggested that males also report body dissatisfaction, however it has not generally been considered as severe as among females and is commonly associated with feeling underweight rather than overweight (McCauley, et al., 1988; Mintz and Betz, 1986). Nevertheless, research in the area of male body image and body satisfaction is relatively limited, focuses primarily on male-female differences, and offers few inconclusive results (Davis, et al 1991). Some studies indicate that men are less critical of their bodies than women (Mintz & Betz 1986; Dolan, Birthchnell & Lacey, 1987; Drewnowski & Yee, 1987), while other have found no sex differences (Silberstein et al, 1988). With respect to weight satisfaction, there is more agreement. It appears that men are spilt between

those who want to lose weight and those who want to gain, while there is no doubt that the vast majority of women want to lose weight (Drewnowski & Yee, 1987; Connor-Greene, 1988; Silberstein, et al. 1988).

Compared to females, male youths are more likely to see themselves as too thin (Levinson et al., 1986). A majority of boys aged 11-18 believe that being thinner would have a negative impact in their lives (Paxon, et al, 1991) and many adolescent boys select a drawing of their ideal body size which is larger than their current figure (Cohn, et al, 1987).

Studies which include both male and female subjects of different age groups suggest that the increasing gender difference in body satisfaction with age is primarily due to decreasing satisfaction amongst girls and to a lesser extent increasing satisfaction levels for boys. Hsu (1990) suggests that males are less bothered by fatness, since they increase in muscularity rather than fat during puberty and, in contrast to adolescent females, adolescent males often want to be bigger and taller (p.57).

Among males however, body image concerns appear to be greatest for those who are below average weight for height (Harmatz, Groendyke, & Thomas, 1985) with serious negative effects on self-esteem and social adjustment. Mintz and Betz (1986) found that university age men with body dissatisfaction were likely to want to gain weight and to perceive themselves as lighter than their actual weight. Slightly underweight men were also the only group of men who disliked their bodies more than did similar weight category women.

Studies of adults (Berscheid, Walster,& Bohrnstedt, 1973; Cash et al., 1986) confirm the gender differences in body satisfaction remain in adulthood with women consistently rating their bodies less favourably than males.

2.2 Age

Body satisfaction may be a source of distress for individuals of all ages (Pliner, Chaiken, & Flett, 1990). However, the majority of research on body satisfaction has been conducted on university-age or adolescent populations.

The age at which concerns with weight and body size first become apparent varies between studies. However the general pattern amongst children and adolescents appears to be that younger age groups show less body dissatisfaction. The time of peak concern is adolescence.

There are several difficulties in assessing body image in very young children. There are methodological problems associated with the child's ability to understand concepts used in the measurement of body image (e.g., use of words such as "fatter" and "thinner"). In addition many preschool children are unable to correctly identify their own and peers' body build accurately (Lerner and Gellert, 1969).

In a study of body satisfaction from ages 10 to 79 years, Pliner et al. (1990) found that females of all ages valued their appearance more than males. Rozin and Fallon (1988) examined body image in two age groups: university age and middle age. Like Pliner et al. (1990), they found that females experienced more weight concern than males in both groups. Pliner et al. (1990) showed that the importance of appearance declined with age for both females and males. However Thomas and Freeman (1990) found that body satisfaction remained constant with age in women 17-55 years old.

Taken as a whole, these studies of adult body image suggest that women express more body dissatisfaction as adults than men. Research is inconclusive regarding overall body image changes with age. One of these studies (Pliner et al., 1990) did not use psychometrically validated instruments. Rozin and Fallon (1988) found no age differences, but

examined only one postadolescent group. Thus, the issue of age changes in body image warrants further investigation.

Studies using questionnaires to measure weight and eating concerns confirm the increase in concerns and decreases in body satisfaction as boys get older. Studies with high-school and university students have shown that the chief male concern at that age is to gain weight, size, and strength (Dwyer, Feldman, Seltzer, & Mayer, 1969; Gray, 1977).

Studies of older age groups tend to find that once adulthood is reached, ageing is not associated with relatively greater body dissatisfaction. In males, age increase is associated with wishing to decrease weight. DiPetro, Casperen & Eaker (1993) suggest that this is reflective of muscle-to-fat ratio declining with age.

Overall, studies of children and adolescents demonstrate that body dissatisfaction tends to increase with age from childhood to early adulthood. Studies of adults provide evidence for a levelling-off of body dissatisfaction in later life. These findings suggest that for both females and males that the teenage years a peak time for body image concerns.

2.3 Self-esteem

Self-esteem is conceptualised as the evaluative aspect of the self-concept, including our perceptions of others' opinions about us. Self-esteem is multi-dimensional. Its components include measures of effectance (competence, power), social self-esteem (likability, lovability), body image (body appearance, body functioning) and self-discipline (moral self-approval, self-control) (O'Brien & Epstein, 1988).

People exhibit varying levels of self-esteem and its development is a complex, gradual process that continues throughout the life span (Enright & Levy, 1980). Various factors are known to influence the development of a person's self-concept and self-esteem. The influences underlying these

observed correlations are rarely elaborated, but are assumed to be multiple (Spence & Helmrich, 1978).

Studies have generally supported the suggestion that there is an inextricable link between self-esteem and body satisfaction on a number of measures (Davis, 1985; Tucker, 1984 , Secord & Jourard, 1953). However, given the complexity of each construct, the relation between self-esteem and body satisfaction is complicated. This is reflected in conflicting empirical findings.

Betz (1986) found that for both men and women, satisfaction with one's body was positively correlated with social self-esteem and negatively correlated with depression-proneness. In a later study, McCauley, Mintz, and Glenn (1988) found higher levels of body satisfaction were associated with higher levels of self-esteem. The lack of sex-difference found within this sample could be accounted for by the narrow age range (18-21) and the environment (university). Accordingly, when investigating the relationship of self-esteem and body satisfaction, McCauley et al. (1988) suggest factors such as age and environment are important to consider.

Harter (1990) notes that at any developmental level, including older children, adolescents, college students, and adults, that there is repeated evidence that self-evaluations in the domain of physical appearance are inextricably linked to self-esteem. They go on to state that "..the correlations between perceived appearance and self-esteem are staggeringly high and robust across the life span, typically between .70 and .80. " (p.95). Moreover, this relationship is found to be just as high in such special populations as the intellectually gifted (Zumpf & Harter, 1991) and the learning disabled (Renick & Harter, 1989), where one might anticipate that scholastic performance would bear a stronger relationship to self-esteem. In the same vein, the correlation between appearance and self-esteem is equally high among adolescent identified as behaviourally disruptive (Junkin, Harter, &

Whitesell, 1991), exceeding that of the correlation between behavioural conduct and self-esteem. Among all of these groups, the evaluation of one's looks takes precedence over every other domain as the number one predictor of self-esteem.

As a result of the complex but robust relationship between body satisfaction and self-esteem, research has progressed to examine the link between appearance and self-esteem. That is, does body satisfaction determine self-esteem, or conversely does self-esteem determine body satisfaction? Research in this area has shown that those who report that body satisfaction determines self-esteem also report that appearance is important, that they are more concerned with their appearance, compared to those whose self-esteem precedes body satisfaction (Harter & Waters, 1991; Zumpf & Harter, 1989).

Research has shown that body dissatisfaction carries over into other areas of psychological functioning. Negative attitudes toward the body have been correlated with anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem (McCauley, Mintz, & Betz, 1986; Secord & Jourard, 1953; Tucker, 1983).

Research in the area of male body satisfaction is relatively limited, has focused primarily on male-female differences, and offers few conclusive results. In addition, there is little research which has considered the relation between self-esteem and body satisfaction in men. Of the research extant, it has been reported that male body dissatisfaction is associated with low self-esteem (Franzoi & Shields, 1984; Mable, Balance & Galagan, 1986; Silbersten et al, 1988). The flaws evident in these studies are small sample size, and lack of replication.

2.4 Eating Disorders

Initially, disturbances in body dissatisfaction were thought to be characteristic of those with eating disorders. Although it is now clear that women and men without eating disorders also suffer from disturbances in body dissatisfaction, and those with eating disorders appear to be more severely affected.

Both males and females with eating disorders tend to belong to subgroups within society that encourage change in body weight and shape. Although general sociocultural reinforcements for thinness are especially directed toward women, as has been demonstrated in a number of studies (see Hsu, 1990 for a review), men who develop eating disorders often are members of subgroups that emphasise weight loss . For example, male jockeys, wrestlers, swimmers, models, dancers and flight attendants all are vulnerable to eating disorders because their professions necessitate weight restriction (Andersen, 1990).

2.5 Dieting

In search of the improved body, dieting is the most widely used method (Brownell, 1991) and for many women dieting is a way of life (Herman and Polivy, 1975). Striegel-Moore et al. (1986) found that "feeling fat" was correlated with repeated dieting attempts in women. However, the causal direction of this relationship is unclear.

For males, research has focused on dieting in relation to occupational demands. Male jockeys, wrestlers, swimmers, models, dancers, rock climbers, and flight attendants restrict dietary intake as their professions necessitate weight restriction (King & Mezey, 1987). As a result, these males are subject to the same societal conditions as females. Exercise is performed strenuously for weight reduction rather than for physical fitness (Mickalide,

1990). Steiger (1989) and Franco et al. (1988) both propose that the societal variables that predispose such males to bulimia are comparable to those found in females. Thus, for these populations, emphasis on body and physical appearance approaches levels seen generally in women in our culture and may place these men at higher risk for body-image disturbances and eating disorders.

On the basis of cases in the clinical population, males more than females diet in relation to sports/exercise activities (Andersen, 1990). Men involved in sport diet to increase their performance by decreasing body weight and body fat, thereby increasing the percentage of lean body mass. Nonetheless, most of our current knowledge about eating disorders is the result of research and treatment with females, and most individuals in treatment are female (Kearney-Cooke & Steichen-Asch, 1990).

For males, there is evidence that low prevalence of dieting and the desire for weight gain may be specific to a certain age group. Although adolescent males may associate body weight gain with a more muscular build, older males may not, and the prevalence of dieting increases with age. A recent study showed that dieting in addition to exercise was the chief weight-loss strategy among males over 25 years of age (DiPietro et al. 1993).

2.6 Exercise

Exercising comprises an additional strategy for decreasing body dissatisfaction in both men and women. Studies have generally supported the suggestion that there is a relation between exercise participation and body satisfaction. However, given the complexity of each construct, the relation between exercise and body satisfaction is complicated, which is reflected in conflicting empirical findings. For example, Pasman & Thompson (1988) found that high-intensity female runners reported a significant drive for thinness than controls, but no difference in body satisfaction. This result is in contrast to the findings of Warren, Stanton, & Blessing (1990) who found that competitive female runners did not differ from controls on pursuit of thinness, but had significantly lower scores on body satisfaction.

Several researchers have documented the exercisers' higher self-esteem as compared to non-exercisers, in both females and males (Higgins, 1980; Mahoney, 1989; Trujillo, 1983; Richman & Rehnberg, 1986). Other authors have also articulated a link between exercisers' greater physical endurance, co-ordination and competence, and greater body satisfaction for the exerciser which could in turn, generalise to the exercisers' overall self-esteem (Bird & Crisp, 1986; Riordan, Thomas, James, 1983; Davies, 1989).

A gender difference exists in the methods used to decrease body dissatisfaction; women are encouraged to diet, men are encouraged to exercise (Mable, Balance & Galgan, 1986). Relatedly, recent research suggests that men and women may differ in two key aspects of body satisfaction: (1) the dimensions that underlie body image satisfaction; and (2) the direction of body image dissatisfaction (Silberstein et al., 1988).

First, the dimensions underlying body image satisfaction differ for men and women. Franzoi and Shields (1984) found, from a large factor

analytic study, that men's body satisfaction has three primary factors, and differs in its conceptualisation from that of women. Of relevance is the fact that two of the factors, Upper Body Strength and Physical Condition, reflect functions and parts of the body that can only be changed through exercise. Drewnowski, Kurth and Krahn (1994) suggest that men's body satisfaction is influenced more by the degree to which they are physically active and perceive themselves to be physically fit, than by the extent to which they conform to some subjective weight idea. Research confirms this suggestion. Men who exercise report significantly less body dissatisfaction than those who do not (Franzoi & Shields; 1984, Davis, Elliot, Dionne, & Mitchell, 1991; Drewnowski, Kurth and Krahn; 1994). Higher frequencies of exercise have been associated with greater body satisfaction (Wilkins, Boland, & Albinson, 1991; Joesting, 1981; Joesting & Clance, 1979), and programs of physical activity have led to more postive feelings toward one's body (McGlenn, 1980; Tucker, 1982). Most research does not investigate the primary motivation for exercise and simply reports a limited measure of body satisfaction. In addition, research does not investigate the reason people begin exercising, as opposed to continuing to exercise.

The second gender difference in body satisfaction is concerned with the direction of dissatisfaction with body size. Underweight appears to have a different meaning for the two sexes: underweight men seem unhappy with their body weight, whereas underweight women appear satisfied (Cash, Winstead, & Janda, 1986). For males, an equal number want to lose and gain weight (Davis, et al; 1991, Drewnowski & Yee, 1987; Silberstein et al., 1988). Exercise for males may be motivated by wishing to increase or decrease body size to fit the muscular ideal, and therefore increase body satisfaction. Mishkind et al. (1986) suggest that men, like women, who attempt to decrease body dissatisfaction by exercising will experience heightened attentiveness to and focus on their body.

Clearly, understanding the motives for exercising and the psychological differences between exercisers may highlight the relation between exercise participation and body satisfaction. Important is the identification of individuals whose exercise motivations are determined by reasons of appearance as opposed to health (Brownell, 1991). Research suggests that those who exercise for appearance are more likely to have an eating disturbance and body dissatisfaction in both genders. Exercising for fitness and health is not correlated with body dissatisfaction and is related to higher self-esteem, again for both genders (McDonald & Thompson, 1992; Davis, Elliott, Dionne, & Mitchell, 1991; Davis & Cowles, 1991; Silberstein et al., 1988; Drewnowski & Yee, 1987).

Davis and Cowles (1991) investigated the body satisfaction of exercising males and females and found that both groups were equally dissatisfied with their bodies. However, this study was simply compared the genders, did not include a control (non-exercising) group, and restricted age range.

In a large population survey, Koslow (1988) studied the xercise motivation of females and males in various age groups. Results indicated that both male and female subjects ranging in age from 18 to 30 years valued the aesthetic benefits from exercising as more important than health benefits. Subjects in the age range 31-50 rated the aesthetic benefits and health benefits equally important. Koslow (1988) concluded that regardless of age, subjects are equally as interested or more interested in aesthetic benefits as compared to health benefits from exercise participation.

Age differences are also evident in motivations for exercise. Research on reasons for exercise in males has found that many more adolescents engage in intensive exercise as opposed to dieting for weight control; as many as 28% report exercising weekly or more often (Drewnowski and Yee, 1987; Drewnowski, Kurth, and Krahn, 1995).

Franco, Tamburrino, Carroll & Bernal (1988) propose exercise in moderation is protective, in excess increases 'narcissistic investment of the body' and increases the tendency to develop an eating disorder in both genders. Identification of motivations for exercise may provide an indicator for those at risk for developing an eating disorder or maintaining body image disturbance. For example, recent research has found that weight, diet preoccupation and physical activity levels were positively correlated among exercising women (Davis & Dionne, 1990; Davis, Fox, Cowles, Hastings & Schwass, 1990).

Recent reports suggest that cultural attitudes to the male body are in a state of change, that more than ever before men desire a muscular, mesomorphic body shape and that men are moving further along a continuum of 'bodily concern' (see Mishkind et al, 1986 for a review). As a result there have been few proposals that men are beginning to utilise the only method they can to become this ideal: exercise.

2.7 Summary and Conclusions

Research has identified many factors which are related to body satisfaction. Females consistently report less satisfaction with their bodies than do males, with a peak during adolescence. Eating disorders are associated greater disturbance in body size estimation and more body dissatisfaction. A gender difference exists in the primary way to increase body satisfaction: males use exercise, females use exercise and dieting. Low self-esteem and repeated dieting attempts both appear to be related to decreased body satisfaction but these relations are complex and depend on when and how measurements are made, and the direction of the relationship. Body satisfaction, self-esteem and exercise also appear to have a positive relationship. However, this finding is complicated and identification of motivations for exercise may provide an indicator for those

at risk for developing an eating disorder or maintaining body image disturbance.

The findings that: (1) exercise is the primary method for males to decrease body dissatisfaction rather than dieting; and (2) males experience a similar amount, but divided direction, of body dissatisfaction to women, is particularly relevant to the current investigation, and will be explored more fully. Of the major factors that may account for the gender difference, two will be examined. First, physical and psychological development takes a different path for females than males; and second, males face different attractiveness-related social pressures than do females. Thus it is important to understand the different socio-cultural issues related to male development.

Chapter 3

Male Development

From birth, most boys learn that being a man entails a certain set of attitudes and behaviours including independence, competitiveness, toughness, aggressiveness and courage. This is the popular masculine ideal, which overemphasises physical strength, force, and athletic skills. It is the outcome of these psychological and physical changes during adolescence which may determine one's self-esteem, body satisfaction and what it means to 'be a man'. The empirical and developmental research will now be reviewed

3.1 The Male Role

There is much ambivalence in the sex-role literature on the distinction between descriptive norms (the characteristics individual men are perceived as actually having) and sociocultural norms (the attributes and behaviour men should have ideally). Much of the research has addressed the former and is based on explicit comparisons between men and women; however male sex-role norms are operationalised properly by the latter. The term "male role" is used to refer to the social norms that prescribe and proscribe what men should feel and do. It is a sensitising concept that summarises the general societal expectations that men face, and these norms can be assessed operationally by examining attitudes toward the array of prescriptions and proscriptions men encounter because of their sex.

Early formulations summarised the male sex role according to two sets of social norms. Zelditch (1955), Turner (1970), and Komarovsky (1976) reasoned that the standards for "being a man" comprised two orthogonal themes: men should cultivate an independent style of achievement, and

they should culitvate incompetency in all feminine activities. A similar two-dimensional model formulated by Sawyer (1970) indentified the core imperatives of the male role as seeking achievement and suppressing emotions.

In Cicone and Ruble's (1978) review, studies of sex-role attributes and stereotypes suggested that three dimensions underlie people's perceptions of males. That is, men should be active and achievement oriented, dominant in their interpersonal relationships, and level headed and self-contained. Brannon (1976) postulates four clusters of norms that define the male role. The most salient, he believes, is the proscriptive norm against anything feminine. The other three elaborate on positive prescriptions for activity and an instrumental orientation: achieving status, cultivating independence and self-confidence, and developing the penchant for aggressiveness.

Collectively, these different conceptual models suggest a range of normative standards defining the traditional masculine sex-role. Levinson et al. (1978) sums up this range in four main themes:

1. Having power, exercising control over others, and being and recognized as being a leader (one of strong will);
2. Having strength, toughness, and stamina, and able to endure bodily stress;
3. Logical and analytical in thought, and intellectually competent;
4. High achievement and ambition to be successful in their work.

The second theme, "strength, toughness..stamina" is relevant to this thesis because it gives an indication of what males think the body should

display, in terms of being masculine. As has been shown by the literature, men care a great deal about their body build and that they aspire to a widely held ideal of physical attractiveness, the muscular mesomorph. Mishkind et al (1986) suggest that the muscular mesomorph is intimately tied to cultural views of masculinity and the male sex role, which prescribes that men be powerful, strong efficacious-even domineering and destructive. For example, Rosencratz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, and Broverman (1968) found strong agreement that the masculine stereotype included traits such as aggressive, independent, dominant, self-confident, and unemotional. Masculinity on the Spence and Helmrich (1978) Personal Attributes Questionnaire is represented by high scores on items such as independent, active, competitive, persistent, self-confident, and feels superior. A muscular physique may serve as a symbolic representation or a metaphor for these personal characteristics.

3.2 Theories of Development

Theories about the psychological development of males during adolescence are well documented and covered by the major developmental theorists (e.g. Freud, Erikson). According to Erikson (1968) the major task of adolescence for males is identity versus role confusion which involves formulating a clear role, and an aspiration for occupation and lifestyle. For the adolescent, the changes in physique, developing ability to think abstractly, and the subsequent capacity for self-reflection mark the beginning of a period of extreme physical and psychological self-consciousness. At the same time the as the adolescent male is attempting to integrate the somatic changes of puberty, he is trying to understand the meaning of becoming a man in society.

3.3 Psychological and Physical Changes during Puberty

Developmentally, adolescence for both females and males is time of great physical change. The timing of the physical changes during this time varies from person to person, but these variations do make a difference to the psychological adjustment during this time. For males, it appears to be advantageous to reach puberty early. Several studies have shown that these advantages include higher and more positive self-esteem (Ames, 1956), and greater peer acceptance (Clausen, 1975). Conversely, late maturing males are at a disadvantage which include lower self-esteem, less respect from peers and less general acceptance of independence from others (Burns, 1979).

The general picture from most of the developmental literature points to the advantages of early or normal maturity. Indeed, a large, strong stature is a central aspect of the ideal masculine model. Thus, it is assumed that the

early attainment of physical attributes associated with maturity serves as a social stimulus which evokes from others a reaction of respect, acceptance and general reinforcement. Such reactions support and contribute to feelings of confidence and security in early or normal maturing boys (Hetherington and Parke, 1986).

There are also stereotypes of behaviour associated with different physical characteristics. Stafferi (1957) demonstrated with boys as young as 6 years old that bodies with an endomorphic build (obese, heavy) were perceived as socially offensive and delinquent; those with mesomorphic build (athletic, muscular) as aggressive, outgoing, active and having leadership skills; and those with ectomorphic builds (tall, thin) as retiring, nervous, shy and introverted. In addition, it was also found that ectomorphs and mesomorphs were more apt to be chosen as the most popular, the endomorphic children were not inclined to be less popular, but more often they were among these who had negative, rejecting feelings about their body. The mesomorphic build was regarded as most favourable by these children and was regarded as the ideal male physique. The subjects also showed a clear preference to look like a mesomorph, and could with reasonable accuracy indicate their own body type of 7 years of age.

Body size closer to the ideal results in greater body satisfaction. Jourard and Secord (1955) demonstrated that adolescent males had most satisfaction from their bodies when they were big, although extreme height was detrimental. The ideal for adolescent males is either the mesomorphic or hypermesomorphic body. Studies on 'ideal' somatotypes (Tucker, 1982) have shown that almost 70% of university age men were dissatisfied with their body image and preferred the more muscular ideal. The more muscular body image was in turn associated with added weight (Huenemann, Shapiro, & Mitchell, 1966). As a consequence of this ideal, a substantial percentage of young men consider themselves underweight and

wish to gain weight (Davis & Cowles, 1991; Mintz & Betz, 1986; Drewnowski & Yee, 1987; Moore, 1990; Rosen & Gross, 1987). Studies with high-school and university students have shown that the chief male concern at that age is to gain weight, size and strength (Dwyer, Feldman, Seltzer, Mayer, 1969; Gray, 1977).

3.4 Physical Attractiveness and Success

The adolescent receives a vast amount of conflicting information about adulthood from numerous sources. However, one message remains constant; It is the physically attractive male who achieves, is independent and successful. This theme, increases in intensity in the magazines, movies , television, and books available to adolescents.

In the research literature physical attractiveness is generally operationalised as the subjective evaluation of physical attributes (Adam, 1977). Studies into the role of physical attractiveness support the popular view that physical attractiveness plays an important part in initiating and maintaining friendships and relationships and that attractive people seem to be happier and more socially adept. The existence of a stereotype "what is beautiful is good" and conversely : "what is ugly is bad" is generally supported by the literature (Cash, 1990; Dion, Berschield, & Walster, 1972) This stereotype is already evident in preschoolers, who view attractive peers as friendlier and more intelligent than unattractive peers (Dion, 1973) and for whom physical attractiveness is significantly correlated with popularity (Vaughan & Langlois, 1983). Teachers treat more attractive children more favourably and perceive them as more intelligent than less attractive children (Clifford & Walster, 1973; Felson, 1980; Martinek, 1981).

Attractive adults are believed to live happier and more successful lives (Berscheid & Walster, 1974). There is arguably some truth to this; for example, an attractive person is more likely to receive help (Benson,

Karabenick, & Lerner, 1976), to elicit cooperation in conflict situations (Signall, Page, & Brown, 1971), and to experience more satisfying interpersonal relationships (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Reis, Nekle, & Wheels, 1980).

By contrast, obese people are stigmatised and punished by adults and children alike (Rodin et al, 1985). Children have more negative attitudes toward obese children than toward children with a wide range of handicaps, such as being in being a wheelchair, missing a hand, or having a facial disfigurement (Goodman, Richardson, Dornbusch, & Hastorf, 1963). Adults expect obese individuals to have more negative personality traits and lead less happy lives than lean individuals (Hiller, 1981), and negative attitudes are expressed particularly strongly when obese persons are seen as being personally responsible for their condition (DeJong, 1980).

Glassner (1988) argues that physical attractiveness may be as important to males as to females, citing evidence that similar numbers of men and women are dissatisfied with their appearance The difference is the direction of dissatisfaction, with men wanting to gain weight, women wanting to lose (Cash, Winstead and Janda, 1986).

Male mesomorphic physiques are considered better looking and more attractive than nonmesomorphic physiques (Horvath, 1981; Kirkpatrick & Sanders, 1978), and mesomorphic males do receive numerous social benefits. Research indicates that people assign overwhelmingly positive personality traits to drawings or photographs of mesomorphic males (Brodsky, 1954; Kirkpatrick & Sanders, 1978), Wright & Bradbard, 1980). For example, Kirkpatrick and Sanders (1978) found that positive traits ascribed to mesomorphs by young adults were strong, polite, brave, healthy and smart. By contrast, the endomorph was characterised by a preponderance of negative personality traits, including lazy, lonely, tired, and sloppy. The

ectomorph was also described negatively, though not to the extent of the endomorph: quiet, nervous, sad, weak , and sick.

These stereotypes exist in both middle and lower classes (Wells & Siegel, 1961), in blacks as well as whites (Wright & Bradbard, 1980), and they gain increasing strength with age until young adulthood (Lerner, 1972: Lerner & Korn, 1972). Personality descriptions consistent with these stereotypes have been elicited when boys of varying physiques are given personality ratings by peers (Hanley, 1951), parents (Washburn, 1962), teachers, (Hendry & Gillies, 1978), and 'objective judges' (Walker, 1963).

Although it may be true that many men are dissatisfied with their appearance, there is little evidence to suggest that males currently experience the degree of social pressure to be attractive as do women. Our society has yet to see the interest in male beauty contests, male fashion magazines, male grooming. It is not unforeseeable that such a trend may eventuate in the future.

3.5 Summary and Conclusions

Research has indicated that young men suffer similar concerns about their appearance as do women, and that they see the classic muscular mesomorph as the ideal masculine body type. There is evidence to suggest that the public visibility of 'ideal' male physiques has led men to feel increasingly uncomfortable about the look of their own bodies.

In summary, there are three major themes of adolescence which are of importance to "becoming a man" for the adolescent male.

First, adopting and learning the social role of being a male is important for a male to develop an identity through being active and achievement oriented.

Second, at around the same time as he is seeking to form an identity, the young man is also experiencing the physical and psychological changes associated with puberty. Unlike his female counterparts he is likely to perceive these changes to his body as positive. However, the timing of these changes is of utmost importance, with early maturing boys being at an advantage.

Third, leading up to and during this time of rapid change a consistent message that a young man receives is that being muscular and physically active, the mesomorph body, is important to being a "man".

It is the combination of these three factors which makes boys attempting to conform to the current ideal of masculinity more susceptible to social pressure to be a mesomorph type body.

Chapter 4

Society and the Mesomorph

4.1 The Male Body in History

Lipman (1962) states that the early American value system which stressed the attributes of physical prowess for men, made sense then because it was anchored in and related functionally to the frontier and rural society. He suggests that the perpetuation of this old rural ideal of manliness represents one of the most serious cultural lags of our time; certainly, male strength and prowess are not prerequisites for success in most careers, as they were in the past. This particular shape, the full-chested, thin-waisted body (as well as the look of strength and agility), seems to gain importance during adolescence. There is however, a more complex interplay of variables at hand that need to be briefly examined.

It is critical to this thesis that the contemporary popular imagery of the mesomorph body in Western culture, cannot be understood without an appreciation of its origins in the canons of representations developed over centuries of traditional high art and various preceding cultural pressures.

Various unrealisitic standards of male beauty have existed and been promoted for men for centuries. Both underweight and overweight conditions have plagued men for centuries, but their plight has been eclipsed by societal attention to women with eating disorders. Dutton (1995) accounts for the contemporary cult of the muscular body by its cultural antecedents.

From his historical overview, it emerges that there have been three periods in particular in (apart from the present) in which an important shift has taken place in our Western consciousness of the expressive power of the developed body. These are: the age of Greek Classicism and Hellenism; the

age of the Italian Renaissance and its artistic successors; and the period in which high art began to give way to modern popular culture towards the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. In each of these periods, a particular conjunction of historical events and advances in cultural inventiveness or artistic creativity acted as the catalyst for a fresh and largely original mode of understanding of the human, and particularly for the male, body as a symbolic vehicle.

Following, scientific, medical and technological advances in the post-Renaissance West confirmed and strengthened the understanding of the body as an object capable by scientific regimes. From the time of the Industrial Revolution onwards, a new interest in physical exercise (required by a more urbanised society) went hand in hand with a belief in secular perfectibilism including the improvement of health and even improvement of human breeding.

In this process, the body became more an object of attention in its own right, more so as religious influences waned and interest passed from inner life (and mortification of the flesh) to notions of material progress and modern achievement. At the same time, new 'sciences' of physical development were democratising the well-formed body and turning it into an attainable commodity.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the developed body had taken on such interest and attained such immediacy that the actual bodies, notable for their physical perfection, became an unprecented form of public spectacle. In addition, the death of representational high at meant the end of the heroic representation of the body, which now passed from the art into the 'real' world of actual display and of attainment through exercise. At the same time the popular media of visual representation underwent a remarkable development by way of the cinema. Here, the heroic figure re-emerged in the form of fictitious characters, often of great strength and

prowess. As media in general increasingly conditioned the popular image of the normative male physique, so advertising and mass-circulation magazines were to appropriate the developed body for their own commercial ends, transforming it into a commodity precisely geared to the aspirations of Western consumerist societies.

In Western societies, 'Lifestyles' have largely taken the place of life meanings. The rise of television has further accentuated the Western 'post-modernist' preoccupation with the visual surface of things (including the human body), as the growth of technology and increasingly sedentary lifestyles have both reduced the need for physical effort and , paradoxically increased the popular vogue of exercise. Images of success in a competitive society are associated with youth, vitality and fitness; along with the fear of ageing, these factors have led to a remarkable burgeoning in the 'fitness industry' which -like almost every other aspect of contemporary Western society- seeks validation by reference to the visual outcome it produces. The male icons of our culture tend to be characterised by an advanced (if not extreme) degree of muscularity.

The muscular mesomorph has become the subject of an unprecedented volume of discussion and analysis which reflects the heightened visibility it has assumed over the past twenty-five years or so. For a review, the reader is directed to Goldstein (1993). As one element (perhaps the crucial element) of the contemporary deconstruction of masculinity, the male body itself is seen as its most symbolically identifiable when characterised by such visual images of hyper-masculinity as mesomorphy and developed muscularity. Accordingly, the question of male identity, in its various guises including its visual symbolism, is seen increasingly seen as an open rather than (as for earlier generations) a closed issue, its prospective new status emerging only from tentative reconstruction following a relentless process of deconstruction. In this

process, various perspectives have been brought to bear upon the semiotics of masculinity, whether in terms of social patriarchy or of sexual dominance; of these none has had more significance (and perhaps lasting) public currency than the male-female dialectic (Bordo, 1993; Wolf, 1992).

The muscular mesomorph may continue to represent one end of the spectrum of a masculinity which is as much a symbolic construct of the imagination as a biological reality; but his privileged symbolic position may disappear as physical perfectibility loses its former overtones of higher purpose.

Each of the factors discussed above may contribute to the muscular ideal, however for males, the contemporary of cult of physical perfection and the need for conformity to the visual images propagated by the mass media are potent influences within the Western cultural system. Indeed those influences most tied to masculinity are those which express its traits, -physical activity and sport. As sport is a visible aspect of popular culture, and a proving ground for masculinity, involvement is inherently part of male development.

4.2 Physical Activity and Masculinity

The embodiment of masculinity, the muscular mesomorph, is seen as more efficacious, experiencing greater mastery and control over the environment and feeling more invulnerable. Indeed, research suggests that people apply such stereotypically masculine traits as "active," "daring," and a "fighter" to mesomorphic boys but not to ectomorphic or ectomorphic boys (Hanley, 1951; Hendrey & Gillies, 1978). Males also view their own bodies primarily along these active and functional directions, in contrast to women who primarily evaluate themselves along an aesthetic dimension (Kurt, 1969; Lerner, Orlos, & Knapp, 1976; Story, 197), and men consider physical attractiveness virtually equivalent to physical potency (Lerner et al.,

1976). Hence, they experience an intimate relationship between body image and potency; masculinity, with the muscular mesomorph representing the ideal. Relatedly, the display of function and action is demonstrated through physical activity and sport.

Until comparatively recently, sport has been perceived as a male domain. As Connell (1987) has argued, "In Western countries [..] images of ideal masculinity are constructed and promoted most systematically through competitive sport". Organised sport is considered to be a "primary masculinity validating experience" (Dubbert, 1979, p. 164). Levinson (1978) argues that sport is an expression for males of their masculinity. For those who participate in sport and spectators, sport provides comforting clarity between the polarities of traditional male power, strength, and violence and again, the contemporary fears of social feminisation.

Messner (1985) describes sport as the source of the establishment of public masculine identity for the young adolescent. He suggests that from boyhood through adulthood, sport participation often acts as a central aspect of the individual life structure of the male. It is more concerned with doing, with achieving, than it is fun, and is of integral importance in the passage into adult manhood. Success in sport involves the development and amplification of many of the most ambivalent and destructive traits of masculinity. The body is viewed as a tool that is used to defeat an objectified opponent. What sports participation promises the young male -affirmation with masculine self and connection with others- is often undermined by what is experienced.

Sport participation promotes many positive aspects as well, the three most important being: excitement, physicality, and community (Hall. Slack, Smith and Whitson, 1991). Pasick, Gordon and Meth (1990) propose that sport is an important vehicle for men to express emotions. Because most

sports are action-oriented, emotions can be discharged with out verbalisation, which makes them a popular form of expression.

4.3 Media and Men's Magazines

In general, the majority of men's magazines have been devoted to the very narrow spectrum of the male experience; physical appearance. Men's magazines emphasise activity, movement, and physical prowess. (Cash, Winstead, & Janda, 1986).DiDomenco and Andersen (1988) found that magazines targeted at men contained many shape articles and advertisements (e.g., fitness, weight lifting, body building, or muscle toning).

Men's fashions have undergone significant changes in style to both accommodate and accentuate changes in men's physiques toward a more muscular and trim body (Gross, 1985) and male mannequins now sport larger chests (Neimark, 1994).

4.4 Physical Appearance and Gender

Much social analysis has been conducted to explain the question of socio-sexual inequality posed by the requirement of physical attractiveness. Bruckner (1991) has distinguished between two characteristic responses to this question of sexual politics, especially with regard to the new emphasis on the male body. The first, which he calls the 'American response', has been to denounce the 'aesthetic blackmail' applied to women and attack to the culture propagated by the beauty industry and popular women's magazines. The second, which he calls the 'European response', has been to extend to extend the vogue of attractiveness to men as well as women. Bruckner's positioning of 'American' and 'European' responses fails to take account the importance of male physical attractiveness in the desirable images portrayed by American as much as European media. Although this

explanation may account for the profound denunciation of such images by American social critics than of their European equivalents (Dutton, 1995).

Turner (1984) has demonstrated a significant link between public (social) motivations and private (individual) motivations in the contemporary cult of the body, showing how the rise of capitalism has promoted the contemporary cult of the body as both inward and outward looking: it provides a means of achieving personal identity (largely centred upon a preoccupation with health, fitness and slimness) at the private level, and at the same time gives us a public value in accord with prevailing social ethic (competition and success). Ehrenheich (1983) suggests that increased body awareness among men is also an artifact of the decrease in men's drawing identity from the breadwinner role in consumer capitalist society and perceiving their bodies as, in part, a reflection of their role as autonomous consumers.

However the rise of the mass media in the 20th century has facilitated more uniform and exacting standards of the "ideal body" for Western men. The principal place where muscular athletic is displayed repeatedly as a norm is the media. The media play a crucial role initiating and promoting the ideal standard of male beauty and in recent decades the standard has become more athletic and muscular. As a result, research has questioned the reason for the change in the ideal for men. For example, Mishkind et al. (1985) argue that women's increased participation in the public sphere has led to a kind of "muscular backlash" given that cognitive, occupational, and life-style differences between men and women are decreasing; therefore body image emerges as one of the few areas in which men can differentiate themselves from women.

In summary, research indicates that the contemporary cult of physical perfection and the need for conformity to the visual images propagated by the mass media are potent influences within or cultural

system, and condition men's social and sexual behaviour just as effectively as they determine women's perception of the gender roles expected of them.

4.5 The Transformable Body

Within the total range of bodily modifications that have been practised within human society -body painting, tattooing, clothes fashion, incision and the like- the shaping of the body has been one of the most persistent. In his anthropological study of these practices, Brain (1979) has included reference to what he calls 'the plastic body' -that is, the body which is either trained or artificially pressed into a shape determined by the society as reflecting its cultural ideals.

In contemporary Western society, slimness reflects a concentration on athletic competitiveness and youthful vigour within a system geared to ideals of individual enterprise and material achievement. With regard to the female body, there has been much debate and criticism. (For a review see Wolf, 1990).A less frequently discussed issue in contemporary social analysis than the pressure on women to conform to an aesthetic ideal ideal ' ' that of the pressures affecting men.

There is a belief espoused not only by the media but also by health professionals that obesity is caused by overeating and it is possible and desirable for those who are overweight or "out of shape" to achieve and maintain a reduced body weight and muscular form by the right combination of exercise and dieting. (Conners and Melcher, 1993; Hall; 1989; Brownell, 1991). This myth is maintained despite a lack of any convincing evidence the dieting and exercise result in permanent significant weight reduction and in the face of mounting evidence that body size is largely determined by genetic and physiological factors (Garner and Wooley, 1991).

4.6 The Commodification of Health Consciousness

It is increasingly clear that the population is generally aware of the health benefits of exercise. Most people now believe that they should exercise, even though they may not have a definite idea of what they should be doing. The medical profession, despite tentative early support of exercise, now endorses exercise as a means to promote the general health and well-being of the population (Blair, Wells, Weathers & Paffenbarger, 1994). For a more comprehensive review of the theories and evidence of the health benefits of exercise, the reader is directed to Dishman, (1994).

However, in consumer culture, the popular media and commercial interests have found the 'looking good and feeling great' health education message to be a saleable commodity. Body maintenance is firmly established as a virtuous leisure time activity which will reap further lifestyle rewards resulting form enhanced appearance: body maintenance in order to look good merges with the stylised images of looking good while maintaining the body.

Exercise indeed has health benefits, but like dieting, it provides further insight into the transvaluation of use within consumer culture: everything has to be good for something else. For example jogging, apart from reducing the chance of coronary heart disease, it is claimed jogging helps to cure impotence, increase confidence, psychological well-being, and puts 'you in control of your body'. Jogging has also been claimed to result in prolonged cosmetic benefits -improving posture, reducing stomach sag, helping to burn off excessive fat (Featherstone, 1982).

One of the dominant forms in which the desirable of ideal states of being are held up in our society is that of the fit or healthy body. Appearance (the visual image) having become a more important motivation than

reality, simplistic equations are formulated and are purveyed by the media and the manufacturers of products and services aimed at producing this appearance. Fat is bad, therefore thin is good -and thus for women, the thinner you are the better. Exercise promotes fitness-therefore the more you exercise the fitter you will be. Muscularity enhances the look of the male body -therefore the bigger your muscles the more attractive you become. Goals which may in themselves be harmless or even beneficial can take hold of the individual that they dominate, and even to some extent define the personality.

This is not to suggest that all who engage in the pursuit of fitness or physical development fall victim to such extremism. There are of course many benefits. But it does not follow that if some exercise is 'good for you,' that more exercise must be 'very good for you' .

For some who exercise, their exists a dependence on exercise for self-esteem, on the need to over-achieve as a form of compensation for deep-seated feelings of insecurity. In other words, identity is formed through self-presentation as a person who exercises, a person who is fit: with no other self-concept to fall back on, one's fitness -through exercise- becomes the sole constituent of one's identity.

Whereas for women, the primary way to reduce body dissatisfaction is by dieting, for men exercise is the primary method. Exercise maybe a more healthy way to decrease body dissatisfaction. Women who starve themselves to reach the cultural ideal of feminine beauty are damaging their physical health; men who exercise and work out at the gym to build muscle may still eat well. Yet if men feel compelled to change their bodies to achieve difficult aesthetic goals, they be opening themselves to problems with steroid abuse, musculoskeletal injury, and eating disorders (Neimark, 1994).

4.7 Summary

Social pressure to be fit and athletic as well as muscular and toned can be observed in prejudice against the obese and skinny and in the almost exclusive use of young, athletic male models in the media. The origins of the muscular athletic ideal are debatable and several plausible sources have been discussed. While multiple factors may contribute to the development of this ideal emphasis on physical activity; as a source of masculinity and emphasis on appearing healthy appears to play a major role. Empirical studies have documented the increasing emphasis on the athletic muscular ideal and the media has the motive, and the mechanism to create and perpetuate this ideal.

While all men in our society are exposed to the athletic ideal it appears that some men are more adversely affected than others. Media images play a part in the development of body image self-schema and the concept of particularistic schema may help explain why athletic media images are more salient for some men than others.

The use of athletic mesomorph body in the media would be of much less consequence if it were generally accepted that the athletic, muscular images portrayed were merely fantasies or illusions, not to be seriously aspired to by the average man. Unfortunately the reverse is becoming more true. Exercise, as well as dieting is actively encouraged as a way men can attain a more muscular, athletic body. Promotion of exercise, a consequence of the social pressure to be muscular, is slow becoming a major reason to be concerned about muscular media images.

4.8 Conclusion

The male developmental path has a central component: the need to be able to compete and prove oneself against others. Being physically attractive and competent is advantageous in being able to proving ones' self-worth. Young men are particularly vulnerable to concerns about their appearance and feelings of dissatisfaction with their bodies. This is particularly so during adolescence and early adulthood when the physical growth and changes associated with puberty occur.

Advertising media, emphasise men's concerns with body size and appearance. They present an athletic, muscular male ideal which increases body dissatisfaction and is used to sell products and services. In this way the media plays a major role in initiating and maintaining social pressure to be muscular.

Dieting and exercising are both methods used to maintain a muscular/athletic appearance. In addition, they are a consequence of social pressure to maintain and develop a muscular body resulting in body dissatisfaction. In spite of evidence regarding the futility of dieting and its potential health risks, dieting is promoted as a weight solution to those dissatisfied with their weight. The myth that the body is malleable maintains the social pressure to be muscular and toned for men and maintains body dissatisfaction by suggesting that the male muscular body ideal portrayed in the media is obtainable for any man.

Previous theory and research has identified a variety of demographic, psychological and physical factors, and a number of conceptual and measurement issues relate to body satisfaction, especially for men, needing to be addressed in further studies. The current investigation builds on the gap in the research which presents the question, " What reasons/motivations are males exercising for, and what is the effect of participation on body satisfaction and self-esteem? "

Chapter 5

Methodology

5.1 Rationale

This study undertakes a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the relation between body image, self-esteem and exercise motivation in males. Generally psychologists' analyses of human behaviour are conducted within a typically empiricist and theory-driven quantitative tradition which observes human behaviour from an external, objective viewpoint. This results in quantifiable descriptions and explanations of the variables that the researcher has decided the observed behaviour is an example of, and places great emphasis on theory verification over discovery and theory generation. This has largely dictated the kinds of research that is done, which is typically hypothetico-deductive in its methodology. This has the effect of limiting the description and explanation of human phenomena by isolating certain variables as causal agents, and simplifies the interactions between otherwise diverse and dynamic phenomena.

This thesis represents a departure from the limitations of using quantitative research methods as a way of conducting psychological research, as well as an attempt to establish a psychologically perceptive analysis of body image in males. The underlying conceptual framework consists of a belief in the utility of triangulation of research methods and of the possibilities inherent in the phenomenological appraisal of human phenomena. Methodological triangulation is a method of obtaining complementary findings that strengthen research results and contribute to theory and knowledge development. The phenomenological approach is usually considered to be the psychological study of consciousness and

subjective experience and indeed that subjective experience and individuals' perceptions should be the very object of study. The reasons for choosing triangulation of analyses over an empirical analysis is two-fold. Firstly, the research objectives of the qualitative approach, that of illuminating the complexity and diversity of the constructs under investigation, is more conducive to research questions central to this thesis and will offer an additional perspective to the difficult construct of body image and its relation to the self esteem and motivations of male exercisers. Secondly, a psychologically perceptive analysis of male body image and the variables that accompany it can only be successfully achieved though an analysis that is based upon peoples' subjective experiences and beliefs of the world, their lives, and the reasons for their behaviour and the meanings which they bring to the world. This is based upon the premise that people bring their own meanings and perceptions to a situation, which in turn influences their behaviour. Ignoring this premise in an analysis of human behaviour would reduce the adequacy and explanatory value of any study that ignores individual realities, which is a disadvantage inherent in many purely empirical investigations.

Unlike much of experimental psychological investigation, when doing qualitative research there is no clear definable set of methods for conducting the analysis which, if followed, will result in a set of data and conclusions that attain the status of scientific credibility.

The quantitative section of this thesis is a comparative study of two groups captured for measurement at a single time point. The groups were forty sedentary males and forty regularly exercising males. The psychometric measures utilised were selected from topics raised in the qualitative part of the research. This was considered a pilot study for future quantitative research in this area.

5.2 Qualitative Research as Preparation

Because of the descriptive nature of most qualitative research with its associated lack of specified hypotheses, except in a very loose sense, it is inherently exploratory or inductive. As a result of this emphasis, the qualitative researcher is concerned with meanings or "participant perspectives" (Erickson, 1986). The research is likely to stimulate new leads and avenues of research that the quantitative researcher is unlikely to find, but which may be used as the basis for further research. A natural science approach, i.e. quantitative methodology, will seek to confirm or reject these 'leads' using a more rigorous framework. The differences are then:

§ qualitative treatment of data describes what processes are occurring and details differences in the character of these processes over time or between samples.

§ quantitative treatment states what the processes are, how often they occur, and what differences in their magnitude can be measured over time or between samples.

The qualitative part of this study can be seen as inductive, characterised by a broader range of data types, elicitation techniques with lower control. From the qualitative analysis of the data, testable hypotheses can be formulated. The quantitative part of the study is deductive, testing the hypotheses. It is likely to be linked to the narrowing of data types, direct and controlled data elicitation, a mixture of change/difference monitoring designs and quantitative treatment of data.

The variety of combinations with triangulation is so great that qualitative and quantitative research methods are better viewed as the beginning and endpoint of the process of research rather than as two distinct methods.

5.3 Background

Generally triangulation is considered a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, by verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation. In addition, by acknowledging that no observations or interpretations are perfectly repeatable, triangulation also serves also to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen.

Methodological triangulation is the use of at least two methods, usually to address the same research problem. When a single research method is inadequate, triangulation is used to ensure that the most comprehensive approach is taken to solve a research problem.

Methodological triangulation can be classified as simultaneous or sequential (Field & Morse, 1985). Simultaneous triangulation is the use of the qualitative and quantitative methods at the same time. In this case, there is limited interaction between the two datasets during the data collection, but the findings compliment one another at the end of the study.

Sequential triangulation is used if the results of one method are essential for planning the next method. The qualitative method is completed before the quantitative method is completed or vice-versa.

The first step in qualitative-quantitative triangulation is to determine whether the research problem is primarily qualitative or quantitative. Characteristics of a qualitative research problem are: (a) the concept is "immature", due to conspicuous lack of theory and previous research; (b) a notion that the available theory may be inaccurate, inappropriate, incorrect,

or biased; (c) a need exists to explore and describe the phenomena and to develop theory; or (d) the nature of the phenomenon may not be suited to quantitative measures (Field & Morse, 1985).

The present research problem of body image, exercise motives and self-esteem fits all of the above characteristics. There is, as shown in the review of the literature, a lack of research on this topic. In addition, much of the literature is flawed from small samples, comparison only with women and vague research methods.

If a research problem is primarily quantitative, the above characteristics are not applicable. The researcher can locate substantial and relevant literature on the topic, create a theoretical framework, and identify testable hypotheses. In this case, the research design is comparative or correlational or experimental or quasi-experimental (Brink & Wood, 1989).

Thus, in methodological triangulation, the key issue is whether the theory that drives the research (May, 1989) is developed inductively from the research per se or used deductively as in quantitative inquiry. This differentiation results in several types of methodological triangulation. If the research is driven by a inductive process and the theory developed qualitatively and complemented by quantitative methods, the method is simultaneous triangulation. Sequential triangulation is indicated when the theoretical drive is inductive and uses a qualitative foundation. The present study used sequential triangulation.

5.4 Implementing Methodological Triangulation

Given the fact that methods need to be used independently within a single project, the real issue in triangulation is not incompatibility between the different assumptions of the two paradigms as many researchers have argued (see Duffy; 1987, Philips; 1988). Instead it is the fitting of the results of each part of the study into a cohesive or coherent outcome or theory, or confirming of revising existing theory that becomes the issue. This is achieved by being aware of and adhering to the rules and assumptions in each method related to the selection of the sample, the purpose of the method, and the contribution of the results to the overall research plan.

5.5 The Present Study

The methodological procedure this thesis follows was originally based upon sequential triangulation Firstly, observations were made. From here people were asked questions (pilot interviews), and constructed more of a research-driven interview schedule which was used in more interviews. A working hypothesis was constructed then in analysis of the interviews. In addition to interview analysis, a questionnaire with quantifiable measures was implemented and used as a pilot study in the investigation of explaining some of the issues presented.

This is the most basic form of social research; ethnography, and is characterised by:

- § gathering data from a range of sources, e.g. interviews, conversations, observations, documents;
- § studying behaviour in everyday contexts rather than in experimental conditions;

§ using an unstructured approach to data gathering in the early stages, so that key issues can emerge gradually through analysis;

§ interviews comprising an in-depth analysis of one or two situations.

One discrepancy between the qualitative interviews and the quantitative questionnaires is that the topic changed slightly as part of a natural progression. In the interviews questions were asked on three topics; eating, exercise and body image. What became apparent during the course of the interviews was that the eating question (attitudes, behaviour) was not relevant to many of the males. That is, they perceived little relationship between their eating behaviour and how they felt about themselves. Therefore, the quantitative measures focused more on the issues of exercise, body image and self-esteem, as this was deemed more important during the interviews. Exercise was to them, a means to lose weight, have friends, be more attractive. Eating was not. There was of course, exceptions to this generalisation, but these are elaborated more in the qualitative analysis.

5.6 Qualitative Methodology

The particular qualitative methodology employed in this study can be described as a blend of Grounded Theory analysis, (Strauss & Corbin 1990) and Discourse Analysis (Burman 1991, Potter & Wetherell 1987).
Essentially, grounded theory is "inductively derived from the study of the phenomena that it represents," that is, the theory has been "discovered, developed and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon." (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pg 43). Grounded theory's particular strengths lie in its ability to uncover people's experience with phenomena which are only barely understood. Grounded theory also provides an opportunity to develop a novel and fresh start when researching phenomena that are already known and enables the examination of intricate details of phenomena which are otherwise difficult to convey with quantitative methods. The topic of male exercise motivation and body image fits all of these objectives. While male body image, and exercise participation has been researched previously, and at times illuminatingly so (for example, Davis, Elliott, Dionne and Mitchell, 1990), grounded theory provides an opportunity for inductive and open theory formulation in an atmosphere of exploration. This results in theory generation which is deemed to more accurately reflect the depth of the phenomena under investigation. It captures the unfolding nature of the processes, experiences and meanings of the phenomena under investigation.

5.7 Using Verbal Reports As Data

Verbal reports are a subject's descriptions about the cognitive process they use when doing a certain task (such as exercising). The validity of those reports is dependent upon the way subjects arrive at those descriptions of

these processes. With regards to this, it is not clear whether the grounded analysis can access underlying unobservable cognitive processes which may influence a verbal report. Participants may (deliberately or not), mislead researchers about the processes which they are aware of and which pertain to the accessed phenomena, and researchers cannot be depended upon to pick up any apparent misrepresentations without the tools to do so (Rennie et al 1988). Furthermore, verbal reports may not accurately access the internal processes which direct those reports. Nisbett & Wilson (1977), concluded that when attempting to report upon their cognitive processes, subjects do not actually truly introspect, but instead report upon their knowable implicit theories about the cause and effect relations of the phenomena under investigation. In response to this claim Ericsson & Simon (1980), establish the ways subjects might arrive at their descriptions of their cognitive processes, and also delineate instances where verbal reports can be considered to be accurate representations of cognitive processes.

Nisbett & Wilson (1977), suggest that there are numerous ways that subjects might arrive at their descriptions of their cognitive processes and mental procedures when performing a task. Subjects may actually be aware of the cognitive procedures they use in performing a task and recall and report those directly, or they may remember parts of a procedure and generalise this information about the overall procedure in their verbal report. Subjects may remember specific parts of a task and regenerate the processes they use to perform these tasks and use this information to infer the general procedures they may have used. Or alternately, subjects may draw upon other sorts of information to make up their verbal reports, such as their general knowledge about how or why one ought to do tasks. In this case, the resulting report may not bear much resemblance with the actual cognitive procedures that the subjects used in the tasks.

Ericsson & Simon (1980), however, delineate instances where verbal reports can be considered to be accurate representations of cognitive processes. They conclude that verbal reports can be considered to be accurate if they access information about processes that are held in short term memory. However, if the subjects are required to re-code information in order to report it verbally (for example, cognitive experiences re-coded into verbal information), then the resulting report may not be an accurate reflection of the originally coded model. Further, validity might be reduced if the experimenter is attempting to access information about a process that the subject would not normally attend to or verbalise (which, on the surface, exercise motivation might be considered to be an instance of). Finally, verbal reports may be incomplete due to a failure to retrieve all the relevant information from short term memory, if those verbal reports are not obtained immediately after performing the tasks (for example, has just been exercising), resulting in selective recall. If only certain types of verbal reports are accurate representations of the cognitive processes they refer to, then there is a need to establish exactly the status of the verbal reports used as data in the subject population of this study.

The verbal reports used as data in this study were essentially retrospective, that is, about cognitive processes that occurred prior to obtaining the verbal report. It is also apparent that the internal representation in which the information was originally encoded was probably not verbal, but pictorial, or some similar representation, and had to be translated into verbal form. Ericsson & Simon (1980), reports that subjects' descriptions of non-verbal stimuli/information, is compact in its format and incorporates many idiosyncratic referents. When these are verbalised in order to communicate them to other people, additional processing is performed in order to find and report understandable referents. These processes may modify the resulting verbal reports.

However, it ought to be recognised that the types of verbal reports Nisbett & Wilson (1977) and Ericsson & Simon (1980) are referring to are reports about cognitive processes used while performing experimental tasks, tasks which the subjects might otherwise be unfamiliar.

In contrast, the verbal reports in this study are based on routines and motives with which the subjects are very familiar, indeed, those which are a consistent part of their life. While such reports might require additional processing in order to articulate them verbally, nevertheless, the fact that most of these subjects are or have been involved in high competitive levels of sport, and as members of a team or participant in a sporting event (e.g. triathlon) they have had to think about the processes of the exercise activity, and break them down and verbalise them to other participants. As exercise participants they may watch others exercisers 'working out' and motivating them to do so. Indeed, some subjects reported that the exercise process does involve thinking about and breaking down their own processes in order to help motivate other exercisers, and that this process aids them in thinking about the procedures and cognitive processes they use when exercising and in reporting those processes verbally in situations such as the interview.

So in fact, many subjects were familiar with verbalising the implicit processes they use while exercising. While this does not mean that those verbalisations are not representations of the subjects' implicit or favourite motivations, it is not clear at all why memory of the cognitive processes should be considered the more accurate data instead of those very implicit a priori theories. In fact it is not clear which is the correct structure of experience, one's implicit motivations or the actual cognitive processes that lead to the behaviour and which may result in those implicit theories.

5.8 Objectivity in Qualitative Research

Another construct, (confirmability or objectivity) in qualitative research also requires a defence, by demonstrating that the research findings can be confirmed by those of another study, which has the effect of reducing the possibility of researcher bias. If corroborating evidence cannot be found, or if current findings oppose previous findings, then the researcher ought to check and re-check the data and purposefully and analytically test rival hypotheses, or search for negative instances (Glaser & Strauss 1967). By asking questions of the data and generating follow up questions for future data collection, the researcher can enhance the objectivity of the research and ensure it is the result of real phenomena and not the biases of the researcher. Strauss & Corbin (1990) also recommend conducting an audit of the data collection and analytic strategies which can then be made public. This was performed in the current study. Objectivity was enhanced in this study by practising to preserve the original data and make data collection methods and analyses explicit, by comparing developing hypotheses with rival and competing hypotheses, by displaying negative instances of findings and accounting for them, by presenting possible sources of bias and by making explicit the decisions to alter data collection and analysis strategies. Further elaboration on the qualifications of grounded theory and qualitative research in general can be found in, Layder (1993), Rennie et al. (1988), Strauss & Corbin (1990).

It has been argued that discourse in all its guises should be the source of investigation, because it not only reflects events but actively constructs those events (Potter & Wetherall 1987, Wierzbicka 1992). The subjects' implicit theories of why they participate may influence their exercise motivation processes and therefore be accurate but incomplete pieces of information about those very processes. If these verbal reports are

incomplete, it is not necessarily the case that the available information is inaccurate.

Some of the controversy on methodological triangulation has focused on the issue of "qualitative versus quantitative research". This controversy advocates combining methods "as long as there is consistency with the 'theoretical researcher'" (Clarke & Yaro, 1988; Phillips, 1988). The methodology employed in this thesis shows the versatility and balanced approach that triangulation can provide, and the depth of understanding which is the result.

In this study, the attempt was made to corroborate sources, under the three general topics of discussion; the motives and importance of exercise; the experiences through the subjects' life; the impact of exercise. In the later analysis of the data, constant reference and comparison was make to external sources - data and theories about similar experiences. Moreover, it is the claim that because qualitative research is an in-depth description that shows the complexity of the variables and interactions under investigation, then it can only be valid because the resulting theory is embedded in the data and derived from the real life setting (Marshall & Rossman 1989, Strauss & Corbin 1990).

5.9 Summary

The reasons for choosing a qualitative analysis over an empirical analysis is three-fold.

Firstly, the importance of the premise that people bring their own meanings and perceptions to a situation, which in turn influences their behaviour. Ignoring this premise of individual realities in an analysis of human behaviour would reduce the adequacy and explanatory value of any study that ignores these individual realities. This is a disadvantage inherent in many empirical investigations.

Secondly, the research objective of the qualitative approach illuminating the complexity and diversity of the constructs under investigation is more conducive to the particular research questions and will offer an additional perspective to the understanding of body image and its relation to other facets of personal experience.

Thirdly, the value of using a qualitative approach in the realm of such an under-researched area as males and body image is because of the need to be exploratory before being able to explain. Qualitative research is more suited to this goal, whereas quantitative research is more suited to explaining. Combining these research methods enabled the beginnings of the development of a more comprehensive and integrated understanding of exercise motives and experience of 'body image' and the variables that impact upon it.

Chapter 6

Qualitative Procedure

6.1 Research Participants

Thirty male subjects were selected from those who responded to an announcement generated for the project. These were placed in various local gyms, and around Canterbury university. Of thirty-two who replied, twenty-seven were selected on the basis of willingness to participate. Other exercisers were contacted by the researcher via their association with existing subjects. All subjects were asked if they would participate in a study investigating exercise motivation, body image and eating behaviour. The subjects were informed that this would involve a half or one hour audio-taped interview.

The exercisers selected represented no particular affiliation with any particular sport or fitness regime. The exercisers were selected on the basis of enhancing the diversity of the subject population. Thus the subject population was equally represented by professional and amateur sportspeople, young and old, and the dedicated and relatively less dedicated. There was an attempt made to achieve cultural diversity, though only two Maori exercisers were obtained, thus the population was largely New Zealand European. All subjects had to fulfil the requirements of being a person who engaged in physical activity with the intention of exercising, with relative consistency, at least three times a week.

6.2 Constructing the Interview Guide

Before interviewing the subjects, an interview guide was developed ensuring that all subjects were asked the same or similar questions. To construct the interview guide an exhaustive and comprehensive literature review was conducted on existing theories about exercising in general, its relationship with appearance, self-esteem and the social and cultural influences. This literature review served as a starting point for the current research. The goal was to determine the validity of some of these theories via the investigation of the underlying principles of those theories, thus allowing an assessment of the practical applicability of otherwise theoretical and academic concepts. The literature review also resulted in the identification of gaps in the existing theories of exercise motivation, eating-behaviour, self-esteem and body image which could then be explored via the interview. The literature review also offered an opportunity to ascertain the depth and diversity in psychological and philosophical understanding of exercise motivation and involvement in order to assess the possible areas of illumination that a qualitative analysis would offer.

The literature review resulted in the generation of a list of concepts that the researcher wished to address. These concepts were formulated into a series of questions pertaining to those concepts and constituted part of the interview guide. For example; "What do you think your reasons are for continuing to participate in exercise?", "How is it (exercise) of value to you?". Other questions were generated through talking to colleagues, exercise professionals, exercisers and the researchers own thoughts. This resulted in the generation of a three page interview guide (see appendix for the complete interview guide), which addressed four main areas of concern: 1. exercise and sport involvement; 2. eating behaviour/attitudes; 3. Body size/shape; 4. The impact of the opinion of others. The interview schedule

served as an informal guide and was generally adhered to. Much leeway was allowed for improvisation and the investigation of any relevant topics which subjects wished to address or that the interviewer discovered seemed especially relevant. Upon interviewing it became apparent that some questions were of little value and were rarely asked. A list of the questions can be found in Appendix #3.

6.3 The Interviews

The resulting interviews were conducted in the informal setting of the subject's home, office, or in the interviewer's office. They were audio-taped at the subject's approval and were generally one half to one hour in duration. Subjects were informed clearly of what the research was about and a congenial informal discussion resulted that was structured by the interview guide. The ensuing interview consisted of the subject answering questions from the interview guide. Thus, much of the interview consisted of subject's responses with prompts from the interviewer as required. Improvised questions were asked if a subject seemed particularly interested or had much experience with a certain issue. Thus, the interview schedule served as a guide for informal discussions which allowed follow up of unanticipated issues rather than being a strict protocol (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This illustrates one of the advantages of using an interview guide with open-ended questions over a strict protocol, because it has the virtue of allowing active intervention.

Another advantage of using open-ended questions becomes apparent if we consider Ericsson & Simon's (1980), conclusions about the effects probes may have on the resulting data. They concluded that fixed response questions may force subjects to choose from the available, inadequate and possibly inaccurate options. Fixed probes may also encourage subjects to infer about information that may not be directly accessible to memory,

resulting in responses that are not closely related to actual thought processes. The advantage of the open ended interviewing strategy is that it does not encourage subjects to infer or guess about the processes or information that the researcher might be interested in, which may bias the resulting verbal report.

6.4 Ethical Issues

Ethical approval for the research was obtained from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee. All interviews were conducted by the investigator.

Consented participation in the research was obtained and subject anonymity was assured. At the end of each interview, subjects were debriefed, where the researcher and the subject discussed the context of the interview in a more open manner, enabling the free exchange of opinions and the follow up of other related phenomena. These discussions were not audio taped.

During analysis and transcription of the interviews, the actual names of the subjects were changed to ensure anonymity.

6.5 Transcription and Analysis

The interviews were transcribed within at least ten days of taping. After the thirtieth interview, it was decided that the interview guide had been utilised to its fullest extent and interviewing was terminated. Upon listening to the interviews during transcription and through careful analysis of the transcripts, the researcher was able to formulate a sense of the whole transcript. The analytic procedures of grounded theory were then applied to the data (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Individual transcripts were divided into units of meaning - identified by each idea expressed and whenever the meaning of the transcript changed. These generally revolved

around a sentence or a paragraph. A list was formulated of the various themes that dominated the data for each subject while staying as close as possible to the person's own words and meanings. This is the method of categorisation. The information was then brought together across subjects on the basis of a particular statement, concept, experience or belief's relevance to a particular category. These categories were; the experience of exercise participation and the relationship to eating, self-esteem, and body satisfaction.

These major categories consisted of subcategories identified by each question and groups of relevant questions in the interview guide. These subcategories are presented in Appendix #3. The resulting manuscripts remained closely to the subject's own words and meanings. During this time a list of new questions was generated, prompted from the analysis of the transcripts, discoveries and questions that needed following up. This Glaser & Strauss (1967) call 'theoretical sampling', where data collection is determined by the developing analysis. Such developments are used to form the basis of a new interview guide for future research. During this time, memos were made in accord with Strauss and Corbin's (1990), recommendations. These were essentially new ideas and theoretical developments. An audit was also conducted which kept track of the data collection strategies and methods of analysis.

6.6 Explicating a Story Line

From here, extended manuscripts were written, putting together subjects' responses that pertained to separate or groups of related questions. These were conceptual developments and represented a step away from the subjects' responses and towards a more theoretical, comprehensive and analytical account of the related issues. Tentative hypotheses were formulated that pertained to one family of questions and were compared

and contrasted with hypotheses from other question families and from relevant data from the three general topics of discussion; exercise history; the type of response to that experience; and the influence of their body and self-esteem upon that experience.

6.7 Incorporating the Research Literature

The status of these final manuscripts were considered theoretical entities of their own, and used as data, incorporated with the existing research literature to give an analytical account of the research findings. By comparing and contrasting the developing theory with existing theories and data it was possible to test the strength of rival hypotheses, to corroborate alternative theories and generate further questions. These were to form a further interview guide that would test developing hypotheses and theories and direct future data collection. The resulting Thesis represents a qualitative analysis of exercise motives through using verbal data gained from actual exercisers, intertwined with a large theoretical component. These verbal data were incorporated with, and used to test, the existing theoretical and research literature on exercise motivation and it's concomitants; body image satisfaction, self-esteem, and eating behaviour in males. This verbal data were represented directly in the text of this Thesis in order to illustrate conceptual points made within the text. As further to the qualitative approach, it was considered that the inclusion of that data added a further dimension to the ensuing discussion, while also making some of the data base directly available for observation. The reader is directed to the appendix for the clarification of the transcription notation used in the presentation of these verbal reports.

Chapter 7

Quantitative Method

Due to the lack of research available on body image in males, and the relationship with exercise motivation and self-esteem, there remains a number of premises fundamental to this relationship yet to be tested. These premises have been systematised into five testable hypotheses.

7.1 Hypotheses:

1. Body Satisfaction is greater in exercisers than non-exercisers.

2. Self-esteem is correlated with body satisfaction in exercisers.

3. Body focus is greater in exercisers than non-exercisers.

4. Reasons for exercise are for appearance rather than health in both exercising and non-exercising samples.

5. Weight satisfaction is greater in exercisers.

7.2 Subjects

Eighty men participated in the study (mean age = 25.6, mean weight 77.9kg, mean height 1.88m). Subjects were volunteers who replied to advertisements placed at various gymnasiums and around the university campus. Of those who replied, 40 were selected on the basis that they met a minimum requirement of 60 minutes exercise per week (at least 3 days/week and 20 minutes a day). Subjects self-reported their usual exercise

patterns on a questionnaire which required they list their weekly activities by type and duration.

The remaining forty subjects represented the sedentary non-exercising group who matched the age, height and weight distribution of the exercising sample. They were selected on the basis that they did not actively exercise at all.

7.3 Materials

Materials consisted of one questionnaire, presented in a booklet form to the subjects. The questionnaire comprised three self-administered Likert scales stapled together with a cover sheet. This cover sheet outlined instructions to the subjects and obtained consent for participation. The next page asked for basic demographic information (age, qualification, income).

The scales (discussed below) were presented in the following order: Body Description (BD); Body Weight Satisfaction (BWS); Body Focus (BF); Body Weight Discrepancy (BWD); Body Shape Discrepancy (BSD); Reasons for Exercise (REX); and Rosenberg's Self-esteem (RSE). Also obtained was Body Mass Index (BMI).

The questionnaire took approximately 20 minutes to complete. A copy is presented in Appendix 1. Reliability and validity information for each scale is presented below.

Body Description/Body Weight Satisfaction/Body Focus

These three subscales were adapted from The Body Image Inventory (Davis and Cowles, 1991). This is a large survey designed to gather a variety of information on body image and self-esteem.

1. Body Description simply requires a response on a 5-point scale

(1= very under weight, 2= underweight, 3= neutral, 4=overweight, 5= very overweight).

Subjects are simply asked to describe how they feel at their present weight. A negative response indicates that the subject describes themselves as underweight, and a positive response indicates that the subject describes themselves as overweight.

2. Body weight satisfaction is how the subject feels about his body at its current weight (1 = very dissatisfied, 2 = dissatisfied, 3 = neutral, 4= satisfied, 5 = completely satisfied).

3. Body Focus: This question asks respondents to rank, on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all important and 5 = very important), the importance of the way they feel about their body to the way they feel about themselves in general.

Body Weight Discrepancy

Body Weight Discrepancy was simply the current weight (kg) minus the desired weight (kg) of each subject. This yielded either a positive score (wishes to gain weight), a negative score (wishes to lose weight), or zero, indicating no desired change in weight.

Body Shape Discrepancy: Body Size Drawings

The Body Size Drawings (BSD) consisted of nine drawings of a male figures, with each drawing gradually increasing in size from extremely thin to very obese. Subjects were asked to select the number of the drawing that they thought represented their current appearance (perceived figure) and to indicate the number of the drawing that represented what they ideally wanted to look like (ideal figure). They were also asked to rate the size of a

picture compared to the drawings, and to indicate which of the drawings matches the picture (picture perception) (Fallon & Rozin, 1985). This procedure was done twice for each subject, once on paper and once on a computer.

Thompson and Altable (1991) completed reliability and validity studies on this Figure Rating Scale. The findings indicated good test-retest reliability and moderate correlations with other measures of body image dissatisfaction, eating disturbance, and overall self-esteem. They concluded that the scale is an appropriate tool for the investigation of body image disturbance.

A potential technical improvement of the figural/schematic rating procedure involves body figures on a computer screen (Dickson-Parnell, Jones, & Braddy, 1987). With this method, subjects can adjust the sizes of nine body sites to arrive at the exact image representation that they believe fits their own dimensions. Accordingly, subjects did the same figure selection task with perceived, ideal and current figures through a computer program. This was to be compared with results from the pencil and paper equivalent.

Reasons for Exercise Inventory

(Silberstein, Striegel-Moore, Timko, & Rodin, 1988)

This measure had seven subscales that include exercising for the following reasons: weight control, fitness, health, improving body tone, improving mood, attractiveness, and enjoyment. For non exercising subjects, they were asked the same seven subscales with regard to their motives for beginning to exercise. Each subscale response was in relation to the importance for exercising (1 = not at all important, 7 = very important).

Self-Esteem Scale

Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) consists of ten statements measuring global self-esteem. Although each statement requires a response on a four-point scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree or Strongly Disagree), each item is scored as either 'Agree' or 'Disagree'. There are five positive and five negative statements. Subjects are awarded one point for each negative statement they agree with, and one point for each positive statement they agree with. Items are then grouped and scored using a Guttman format, providing a possible range of scores from 1-6. A low score indicates low self-esteem.

Although it is brief (thus requiring less time to administer) this scale correlates significantly with other self-esteem measures, for example, Coopersmith's (1967) Self-Esteem Inventory, (Demo, 1985). Melnick and Mookerjee (1991) report a reproducibility coefficient of 92%, coefficient of scalability of 72%, and test-retest reliability of 88%. Furthermore, as well as being a valid reliable measure of overall self-acceptance (Robinson & Shaver, 1975), wide use of the RSE enabling comparison across studies is an additional reason for the inclusion in the present study.

Body Mass Index

Body Mass Index [weight (kg)/height (m^2)] was calculated from weight measured on a Seca spring scale, and height measured using a standard tape measure.

7.5 Data Analysis

All of the 80 questionnaires returned were completed. Thus, 80 questionnaires were scored and analysed. All scales and subscales were totalled.

Initially, the following descriptive statistics were obtained for all variables for the two samples (exercising and non-exercising): mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum values. This provided an overall picture of the level of body satisfaction, weight satisfaction, self-esteem, and reasons for exercise in the two samples.

Multiple Regression analysis on the two samples yielded Pearson correlation values. This enabled focus on any interrelationship among the variables, strength of these relationships, and determine whether any of these were following with any of the five hypotheses.

All statistical tests were carried out using the JMP statistical package.

Chapter 8.

Qualitative Results and Analysis

8.1 The Ideal Body

Descriptions of the Ideal Male Body

All of the men interviewed had a detailed description and accompanying opinion of what the ideal body was, and what it meant or represented to them personally. When informants were asked to describe their image of the male body ideal two distinct types were articulated. The first, which 80% of subjects mentioned, was an athletic mesomorph ideal emphasising a balance of muscle tone and endurance:

> The ideal body is basically a mixture between power and endurance, a good balance of strength and endurance [] not too big [] prepared can cope with anything [] always a bit in reserve. Chris

> The ideal male body? It's in shape and fit, it is able to do all it has the potential to do. Fitness means 'ready for anything' [] John

> The ideal is someone who is well exercised, like a triathlete but not over built. Good mix of flexibility, strength, stamina, speed. Their body is fit and exercised to a purpose. Generally in good shape and in balance. That's the main thing. A balanced physique. Bob

These descriptions of the athletic mesomorph emphasise the appearance of bodily function and purpose, as demonstrated in the

performance potential and look of an endurance athlete. As can be seen, subjects stated "potential", "cop[ing] with anything", "ready for anything" as important traits of the ideal male body.

Research suggests the functional potential of the athlete is significant because of the masculine traits this body symbolises. For example, Levinson et al. (1978) state that the body of an athlete is directly tied to definitions of masculinity by, " Having strength toughness, and stamina, and able to endure bodily stress. " (p.128). In addition, Goldstein (1993) discusses the visual display of masculinity as characterised by the body of an athlete through images of mesomorphy and developed, lean muscularity. Subjects described the physical surface of the endurance athlete's body (the triathlete, the swimmer) this lean and toned body:

> [The ideal is] Basically lean athletic, great legs not like incredibly big chest, just defined, lean and toned.
> Vaughan

> The ideal is fit and has muscle tone, a swimmers body.
> Nathan

> Like someone like a surf rescue/swimmer type person, or an athletes body rather than a body builders body. You can see the muscle tone and strength. Jim

Together, the image of an athlete is linked with the functional application of the body of an athlete. It is not only what the body looks like (appearance), but what the body looks like it can do (function) that is important. Through active discipline, an athlete's body becomes fit and predictable in its performance. For 80% of the subjects this fit, lean, toned body was this ideal image.

The second body type which 20% of the males described as ideal was the hypermesomorph. Signified by a 'v' shape, this archetypal body, is a

biological marker of masculinity. At puberty there is marked difference in the growth rate of the shoulders in males and females, boys becoming broader than those of girls, adolescent males developing that v-shape. (Morris, 1971). The muscles that combine to visually display this v-shape have in the past been a quintessential symbol of a "natural" masculinity (rather than achieved), and is contrasted to "femininity" (Bordo, 1993). The 'v' shape is the visible characteristic of the body seen in silhouette. The image conveyed by the hypermesomorph is strength characterised by well-developed chest and arm muscles with wide shoulders tapering down to a narrow waist:

> Probably someone between 5'8" or 6'2" fairly well conditioned, broader up top, broad shoulders, reasonably thick in the chest tapering down to a fairly narrow sort of waist, a "v" shape. Peter

> They would have broad shoulders, the image of strength, torso, toned chest, slender for a noticeable difference between the shoulders and the hips which gives a 'v' image of strength. Nicholas

> Very muscular, very defined strong thighs, really tight across the stomach, you can see the rows and the divisions of the muscles, broad chest, square shouldered..muscular arms, but more length to the muscles than bulk. I guess its a 'v' shape From the inside of the shoulders down to the thighs, a sort of squareness, solidarity, then in towards the bottom. Greg

The hypermesomorph is defined by an exaggeration of the 'v' shape, through a noticeable difference between shoulder width and waist. Although very similar to the athletic mesomorph because of the emphasis of muscle tone, many subjects questioned the functional value of body-builder 'v' shape. Because of physical size, the hypermesomorph was seen as

not being able to compete in a sporting arena. As Connell (1983) states though the body of the hypermesomorph is developed, it is a body which is "unused, unskilful". The hypermesomorph is built for no active purpose and is instead a visual spectacle:

> Somebody with the body builder superman shape may look good in a magazine, but I don't think he would be very good at sports. Tim

> The ideal body is an athlete, not a bodybuilder who is in shape, but out of balance, sort of overdone, whereas an athlete can use that body, can use the potential they have, not just for show. Neil

> Some guys at the gym look huge, but they aren't fit like an athlete. Jim

The bodybuilder 'v' shape is criticised for it's lack of function or inability to compete: "[not] very good at sports" , "they aren't fit" , "out of balance". The importance of the appearance of purpose is emphasised here. Muscles draw attention to the body's potential for action. However, there appears a point where the 'balance' is lost and the body becomes an excessive visual spectacle. So while both the athletic mesomorph and hypermesomorph have muscle tone, the athlete is balanced and exercised to a purpose, whereas the bodybuilder is seen as excessive. The bodybuilder turned movie actor, Arnold Schwarzenegger was the most frequently used example of this excessiveness:

> "I think if there was an ideal body, it wouldn't be a big body-builder-type hulking creature anyway, because I think that is excessive, So, no it is not Arnold Schwarzenegger." Chris

The hypermesomorph is equated with an excessive "hulking creature" . The reference to Schwarzenegger reflects the high public status of the bodybuilder in the media and entertainment industry. The appearance of Arnold Schwarznegger in a number of highly popular action films from the early 1980s onwards introduced to the screen a visually overwhelming impression of muscularity. Since the release of the early Schwarzengger movies, film-makers required well-developed muscular heroes which spawned the likes of Sylvester Stallone (Dutton, 1995). Reflective of the respondents clear preference of the athletic mesomorph as the ideal, the hypermesomorph was described as extreme in a continuum of body shapes:

> If you look at the bodies in films and stuff we see Arnie [Schwarzengger] and Stallone but they are way off the other end, like you know they are made up, not natural. Craig

> The ideal is not like Arnie and Sly [Stallone] sort of style, you have to be ridiculous, just basically lean athletic. Vaughan

> Well, the Schwarznegger body I feel, is not an ideal. This is because this ideal image that I think of is based around being able to do any sport, just being able to do things, doesn't include having to spend four hours a day at the gym, or having to eat supplements to a regular diet. It's too much time and energy. Bob

> I guess I don't like, or see the weightlifter, muscle bound Stallone Schwarznegger type as ideal, basically because it can't do anything [] it's an extreme shape, an overstatement, it just is. Chris

The hypermesomorph, as typified by 'Schwarznegger' is seen as extreme because of the time involved in obtaining it, and it's lack of purpose, application and function. The bodybuilder represents an extreme

degree of muscular development, which therefore needs a large amount of 'body-building' and maintenance. As the word implies, bodybuilding is about accruing muscle size. Fussell (1991) suggests that bodybuilders overemphasise the cultural notion that masculinity is correlated with muscles.

Both the athletic mesomorph and hypermesomorph ideals described confirm what Mishkind, et.al, (1986) have suggested of the body ideal, that a majority of males report they would prefer the athletic muscular mesomorphic physique as opposed to endomorphic (fat) or ectomorphic (thin).

No matter whether they were discussing the hypermesomorph or the athletic mesomorph, all descriptions of either ideal were littered with terms such as 'muscle tone', 'strength,' 'stamina' and 'power'. Such descriptive terms are inherent in cultural definitions of masculinity and the male sex role, which prescribes that men be powerful, strong, efficacious. The ideal male body is seen as an inescapable affirmation of male identity and thus an implicit assertion of masculinity. Research has confirmed this link of the body as metaphor. For example, Miller, Coffman, & Linke (1980) and Darden (1972) found descriptions of the masculine stereotype included such strength, stamina and power. In addition they found that both females and males rate mesomorphically proportioned bodies as the most masculine. Essentially, the mesomorph physique may exemplify these masculine characteristics. As Connell (1987) states men define: " what it means to be masculine as quite literally to embody force, to embody competence " (p.27).

Summary

The majority of the subjects described the ideal male body as an athlete. The body's surface is lean, toned and muscular, and thus appears functional and purpose built, like an athletes. This is in contrast with the body-builder whose body surface is "over-built" and consequently does not appear functional. The emphasis is on the functional appearance of an athlete.

Common to both the athletic mesomorph and hypermesomorph is muscle tone. Muscle definition is related to the bodies' potential for action and a reminder that men are 'naturally' (physically) powerful, reflecting also the cultural definition of masculinity. Muscles grow in response to stress, and definition is obtained through such methods as weight-training and/or aerobic exercise.

The Perfectible Body?

Essentially the image of the mesomorph body, which is for some a function of their lifestyle (e.g., an athlete), has become an obtainable commodity. As Jameson (1984) writes, the body has become a function of postmodern culture in which "virtually all aspects of social life can be transformed into commodities..the images of things and the signifiers of things, rather than the things themselves, that are the objects of consumption..the emphasis is on surface, spectacle." Thus the look of an athlete is as good as actually being an athlete.

Given that the athletic mesomorph was seen by a overwhelming majority of the subjects as the ideal, 85% noted that this body is obtainable through disciplined exercise. The athlete's body is perceived as surface display of an entire athletic lifestyle, a direct result of the physical demands the athlete places on it. However, this athletic look can be obtained without being an athlete. One subject illustrates this point succinctly:

> I saw these guys at the gym class I went to, and they were at the beach, and they were walking around with their chest out and everything and they looked so [] abnormal [] that they looked as if they went to the gym. That was one thing I didn't like, that you look as though you go to the gym. I'd rather it be: this is what I am and so If I could be bigger and mask the fact that I had 'produced' it, then that's what I'd want to be. I wouldn't want the " I've worked hard to get this body " look. I'd rather be a function of my lifestyle and who I am like a building labourer who is toned and big as a function of their job rather than because he goes to the gym to look good. John

John highlights how men read each others body image. Manufacture of one's body is considered unauthentic and out of place. Yet John considers that if his body was bigger, as a function of his lifestyle and that he could

hide this, he would do so. The essence of this quote establishes that the ideal body can be constructed by the utilisation of certain methods. One does not have to actually be a 'labourer' to have a labourer's body. It is obtainable through the use of the gym. The image itself, the surface of the body, can be manufactured through sufficient effort. As we are assured by advertisements for gym membership and exercise equipment, anyone can obtain 'the look' and consequently muscles have ceased to align with the "natural" (Bordo, 1994). Yet for John, the artificial construction is out of place.

Interestingly, as Jameson (1984) points out, appearance does not determine whether or not someone with such a body can function and perform like an athlete, it just means they look like they do. This dichotomy between function and appearance contradicts the opinion of the majority (85%) of subjects, that to have the body of an athlete is be able to perform like an athlete. David, a professional triathlete lives this dichotomy:

> So many people comment how I don't look like I do sport, and I'd have friends who were the muscle type that women like, but they'd do no training at all, and get on their bike and just look good and everyone thought they were fabulous because they had the look and I used to think: Man, what am I doing all this training for? , I should have been sitting at the gym and buy a flash bike. Quite aware of the dichotomy present. David

David highlights how the athletic ideal does not necessarily reflect athletic ability. David is a successful athlete, yet he does not appear as one. The 'dichotomy' David talks about is the difference between appearing athletic and actually being athletic. The ideal body is that of a muscular mesomorph, but the body of an athlete can take many forms depending on the chosen sport, and definition of muscles may have very little to do with

performance. But for David, the winning (that came from being a successful athlete) was important than "the look":

> I was pretty scrawny and skinny when I was competing, so I'd spend my whole life trying to reach this goal [winning], but also thinking ;' women are quite nice, I'd like to get some of them [women]'.
> But I used to think that I'd be more likely to get them if I'm successful and can't be bothered being muscly because I'm probably not going to be anyhow. What used to win out was reaching the goal. David

David understands that if you look like the mesomorph, then you are attractive to others and are rewarded socially. However, as a result of his training when competing he was 'scrawny and skinny,' not the muscular ideal. For him, competing and winning was a more important achievement, than the image of being able to win and compete. Although John's motivations for exercise were contrary to the majority of respondents, he was still aware (and could articulate) the social benefits of the ideal.

As has been shown, the ideal male body has several important components. To be authentic, it has to be consciously constructed as a function and display of an athletic lifestyle. The ideal does not reflect whether a person with this body is an athlete, only that they have the appearance of one. An additional real world constraint in maintaining or creating this ideal image is the time constraints of the everyday working person as explained by Drew: :

> You have that image of a fit young person in your head, which sometimes you think would be nice to maintain. The reality is that it is almost impractical to do so, unless you are going to dedicate four hours a day as you get older, but it felt good and

> feels good to be fit, look good but it can be impractical, ie four hours a day to reach this goal to maintain when you don't have that high metabolism all the time, time is a big factor, working 9 to 5 every day. Drew

Here, Drew describes the reality of maintaining an image. As you grow older you have less time to spend maintaining the image as well as actually being fit. Bodily 'metabolism' changes, time constraints through work amongst other things affect us all, and are increasingly difficult to maintain, although one thing does remain: the "image of a fit young person".

David, John and Drew provide three different perspectives which together question the authenticity, obtainability and perceptual reality of the ideal body image. The question then becomes, what are the benefits of obtaining the ideal?

In addition to the reality check inherent in the difficulty of maintaining or changing one's body to fit the "image", there is the question of whether maintenance will actually result in successful manufacturing of an ideal. The fitness and health industry would lead us to think so. It is to this issue we now turn.

The Body In Consumer Culture

Within consumer culture a staggering amount of visual information shapes our very existence. With cinema, advertising and television, we receive messages about what the ideal body is and represents. The body is "proclaimed as a vehicle of pleasure: it is desirable and desiring and the closer the actual body approximates to the idealised images of youth, health, fitness and aesthetic beauty the higher its exchange-value" (Featherstone, 1982:21). Therefore, the smaller the self-ideal discrepancy, the higher it's 'exchange-value' or worth within consumer culture.

The mesomorph is unreachable without rigorous exercise and stringent exercise as has been proved in many empirical studies, (see Brownell, 1991 for a review). However, messages presented by the media assure us that anyone can become 'someone' . Anybody can develop the muscular mesomorph, all they need is effort. In turning oneself into the ideal, they will therefore become "somebody" , an attractive self, a more masculine self. Of these messages, the 'be-somebody' catch phrase was the most well-known.

> I've noticed in the last four years the sort of "be-somebody" catch-phrase [] I know that when you go on a diet you don't lose fat, you lose muscle, and so you replace it with fat. Dieting and even exercise or fitness just seems to be profit driven and you have to stick at for results and those gyms cost a lot of money. Jake

Jake suggests that the fitness industry provides a catch phrase which sells fitness and exercise as a consumable product. Coupled with his knowledge of the futility of dieting and the time/monetary cost involved, he recognises the profit-driven nature of the body image industry. The ideal

body is simply an image, created to sell a product (fitness) which will enable us to transform our less-desirable body into the more desirable ideal. The question is not whether this transformation will occur, but how much effort a person is prepared to put in, or how much fitness product a person will consume.

Indeed, fitness is a multi-billion dollar industry in Western society (Featherstone, 1982). Fitness and the image of fitness are sold as a consumable product which may create or add to the body image concerns of those who are dissatisfied with their bodies because they don't match the ideal, as Jake explains:

> I think that [body concern] must be because of Les Mills ads to a certain extent and other friends of mine going to the gym, so I have felt more concern, and because I know I can do something about it, i.e. go to the gym, and because I know what the perfect male body looks like, from the ads, I am starting to feel like a sort of fashion victim to a certain extent because I do not fill the ideal -which is bullshit- I don't accept for females and I shouldn't accept it for me. So , in that way, there is an image, I guess this is about image, body image , that is coming through from the media. Jake

The media are cited by Jake as generating the ideal and the "how to" method to achieve this ideal. The result for Jake is that he feels like a 'fashion victim' and consequently is more concerned or dissatisfied with his actual body.

For the men interviewed, the ideal was the athletic mesomorph. However this ideal proves to be unreachable for most men. Most information about attaining the ideal body suggests that the level of fitness required is beyond what most people could achieve with healthy and non-excessive levels of dieting and exercise (Keesey, 1986). In addition the amount of exercise needed to pursue the ideal is in excess of what is

necessary for healthy living (Katch & McArdle, 1988). This misconception was recognised by several respondents. For instance:

> What the public believe is a sporty image, standard sort of average sporty guy, is a lot of shit, because the amount of weight you have to lose and the amount of exercise you have to do is directly out of proportion to what is the common perception. A toned athletic type of person is someone who does a bit of sport that's the perception; that's what they would look like. In reality what they are is someone who is on a stringent diet and does a lot of exercise. Drew

Supposedly, the formula is that, with the right amount of exercise, dedication, determination and discipline, the ideal body is yours. Yet respondents suggested that the sporty, athletic ideal is an unreasonable standard that is portrayed in the media as reachable.

As both Drew and Jake suggest, the fitness industry seduces potential consumers with its' presentation of the ideal body. Inherent in the presentation of the fitness 'product' are two assumptions. The first is that the body is infinitely malleable through the right combination of exercise and eating. Secondly, vast rewards await the person who reaches this goal (Brownell, 1991). This reward is presented as "becoming some body" presupposing that before a person was no body. Indeed, the role of the media in perpetuating the ideal is well documented and well recognised by 80% of the subjects:

> I have noticed the role of the media particularly in the way they promote exercise and design to sell to what amounts to fitness product. I would regard these as damaging to people who have body image concerns [] The whole fitness industry is terribly neurotic. It is so centred around self image. Doug

However, to have the ideal athletic body, the average person must spend time, energy, and as the exercise/fitness industry would have it, money. This is point is articulated by Drew who was a fashion model:

> What people see in ads, and what the average sporty person looks like are two different things. Moderate to high exercise and a stringent diet can get you that way, as my experiments or occasional dabbling when I was modelling showed [] On a number of times because of some modelling demands I had to restrict food, but that was more experimental than conscious, I did think, did I want to do this? More like I did really wonder if it can done..sort of thing [The food was] no fat, no carbohydrates and high fibres, [and] a lot of intense weights exercise [] Cut down on body fat meant that you would give the deceiving look that you are toned, or looking a lot more sporty. Drew

Therefore, due to his modelling experience, Drew describes the deception of appearance created for advertising the body, and the methods used to obtain the 'toned' or 'sporty' look. Thus, intensive exercise and restriction of food intake together create the look of an athlete.

Brenner and Cunningham (1992) compared the body concept, self-esteem and eating attitudes of professional fashion models of both genders to controls. The methods used by the models to maintain the body type required for modelling were exactly as described by Drew, intensive exercise and caloric restriction. The result of this method was low body-fat and muscle definition, exactly the look of the muscular mesomorph.

Of the men in the Brenner and Cunningham (1992) study, the models had more body satisfaction than controls but were no different in degree of self-esteem. Given that fashion models represent the cultural ideals of beauty, it is reasonable to expect that they had better body-satisfaction. Lack of difference in self-esteem between the male control and model groups can

be explained by gender differences in the importance of physical attractiveness, that is females' self-esteem is directly related to body-satisfaction than men (Hansell, Spracino, & Ronch, 1981).

The result of the Brenner and Cunningham (1992) study supports the concept of 'exchange-value' as conceived by Jameson (1984). Through advertising we are presented with a figure which is seen as the athletic masculine ideal. The worth of this attractive ideal is the association with confidence, higher self-esteem and happiness (Cash; 1990, Berscheid & Walster; 1974). However, the men who model these bodies, are in general no different in self-esteem to rest of the male population. It is the image they present that is the ideal, which does not necessarily mean that they themselves are happier in their lives. It is this ideal image which is sold to the population as the way to obtain happiness: you "become somebody". The ideal is presented as a realistic goal therefore adding to the body dissatisfaction of the rest of the male population. In addition, methods to obtain this ideal body are presented in the form of a product, that of exercise. Yet a dichotomy exists as outlined by both David a professional triathlete (page76) and Drew a professional fashion model. There is a difference between appearing athletic (Drew) and actually being athletic (David). It is the masculine athletic body image that is important. The appearance of strength is more important than the application of strength.

Turner (1984) has demonstrated a significant link between public (social) motivations and private (individual) motivations in the contemporary cult of the body, showing how the rise of capitalism has promoted the contemporary cult of the body as both inward and outward looking. Maintaining a body image provides a means of achieving personal identity (for men largely centred upon a preoccupation with health, fitness and muscularity) at the private level, and at the same time gives us a public value in accord with prevailing social ethic (competition and success).

Therefore, although 75% of subjects saw the hypermesomorph as an unrealistic ideal, 80% saw the mesomorph as obtainable. This contradiction is evidence of the respondents belief that with discipline, the athletic ideal body is available to any man. Although many men questioned the obtainability of the ideal, they still fell prey to the media messages, and consequently, all of them felt some measure of dissatisfaction with their bodies. Consequently, many used exercise as method to improve their bodies' exchange-value, and thus attempting to reduce body dissatisfaction (see next section).

Summary

The respondents have highlighted the role of the media in defining what is the ideal male body, as well as selling the method to obtain it. However, such insight into the unrealistic ideal did not guarantee immunity from the media pressure to conform. Therefore, the effect of the media and the ideal, establishes a complex interplay of these underlying variables and the importance placed on these variables. These variables combine and dictate how one should feel about their body. The result of a discrepancy between how one appears and how one wishes to appear is termed 'body dissatisfaction'. It is the respondent's experience of this we know turn.

8.2 Body Dissatisfaction

Directions and Dimensions

Much research has documented the relationship between a persons' self-perceptions and behaviours, and satisfaction with their body. A relationship between body satisfaction and self-esteem has been documented for both men and women (Lerner et al., 1973: Rosen and Ross, 1968). Noteworthy, however, is recent research that suggests that men and women may differ in two key aspects of body satisfaction: (1) the dimensions that underlie body satisfaction and (2) the direction of body image dissatisfaction.

For males the dimensions underlying body satisfaction are: "physical attractiveness," "upper body strength," and "physical condition," (Franzoi & Shields, 1984). Physical attractiveness assesses satisfaction with the face and physique that determine how "good-looking" a man is. Upper body strength measures satisfaction with body parts and functions that can be changed through exercise. Physical condition taps satisfaction with the body's functional aspects related to "how well the body works" .

Dissatisfaction with one's body is usually marked by a discrepancy between how the body appears and how one wishes it to appear. Many of the subjects reported dissatisfaction with their bodies, or parts of their bodies. Body dissatisfaction operates in three directions, (1) wishing to appear bigger or wanting to 'bulk up' and (2) wishing to appear smaller or wanting 'cut back on gut' and (3) wishing to change specific body parts. For example, Tom and Nathan wish to appear bigger :

> I'd like to be more bulked up. I think I am too skinny. Not that I really worry. My brother is similar build but heavier,

bigger. There is a social standard how the young adult should look, which is bigger than me. Tom

I would probably put on a 3 kgs, and that would be muscle. Because, the last time I weighed myself I was 57kg and then I could say to people I weigh 60kg. They say "57!!" and 3kg would sound sort of more. I guess it is more the way people think of me rather than what I think. If I didn't have scales I wouldn't know, and I wouldn't worry about the way I look. But then if I had more upper body muscle I would maybe look better. Yeah, muscle anywhere in comparison to where I stick out in bones, you can see it though clothes. I tried to build muscles at the gym over a period of 18 months, and I thought I was too skinny and wanted to get bigger. It didn't work, though, but I'll keep on trying. Nathan

The majority of respondents reported the dissatisfaction that both Tom and Nathan describe. Seventy percent of the men interviewed desired to transform their bodies through weight gain in order to appear bigger. The direction of Nathan's dissatisfaction with his body generates the method he uses to transform his body in the direction of the ideal. He exercises at the gym to close the gap between how he looks (skinny) and how he would like to look (bigger/muscles). Therefore, weight gain becomes associated with muscle mass. Similar to Nathan, Tom wants to be bigger but has not employed any methods to reduce the discrepancy. Tom suggests that there is a "social standard" to how the young adult male should look, which is larger in body size than him.

The above quotes illustrate that men experience body dissatisfaction as a result of the projected masculine ideal of the "muscular mesomorph" (Tucker, 1982). Clinical research reports that men are evenly split between those who wish to lose and those who wish to gain body weight (Drewnowski & Yee, 1987; Silberstein et al, 1988). In addition population

surveys report that 41% of men are dissatisfied with their muscle tone, whereas 33% are dissatisfied with their weight (Cash et al, 1986).

Muscle definition and weight have different meanings for the two sexes. For example, Pertschuk, Trisdorfer and Allison (1994) found that there was a difference between what men and women thought the male body ideal should have. They found when asking "how important is it that a man have noticeable muscles," that muscle definition was twice as important to males than it was to females. This finding is an illustration of the often repeated observation that the image of the muscular mesomorph reflects not women's but men's view of desirable manhood -or as it is sometimes stated, a mistaken male view of what women find attractive (Neimark, 1994).

Muscle mass is associated with weight gain, and accordingly being underweight appears to have a different meaning for the two sexes: underweight men seem unhappy with their body weight, whereas underweight women appear satisfied (Cash, Winstead, & Janda, 1986).

In relation to these research findings, the majority of subjects wanted weight gain in one specific area, their upper body, as Greg shows:

> I've always seen myself as this tall beanpole, and that has been reflected all through my life. My body image has always been that I'm underweight. So exercise has always been focused to being fit and healthy and putting weight on, in certain areas such as my chest and arms, always my upper body because I've always done running and always done cycling. I've always felt it was my upper body that I was weak in. So, initially running would be to counteract bingeing, but after that exercise or the gym is always to build upper body. Most of it is about feeling better, but the focus on the exercise has been for aesthetic reasons. Greg

Greg's body dissatisfaction is a result of his upper body being 'weak' which makes him appear like a 'tall beanpole'. The specific exercises, running and cycling do not utilise and develop this part of his body. Therefore he adopts other forms of exercise to build up the parts of his body he is dissatisfied with.

For Greg, exercise for appearance clashes with exercise for function. Although exercise is used to "feel better", it has to be supplemented to meet the aesthetic requirements which will provide less body dissatisfaction, specifically his chest and arms. Indeed, research has found that male body dissatisfaction is not general and diffuse but highly specific and differentiated. Men consistently express their greatest dissatisfaction towards their chest, weight, and waist (McDonald and Thompson, 1992; Silberstein et al. 1988; Franzoi and Shields, 1984; Cash et al., 1986; Allison, 1994; Mishkind et al.,1986).

Jules, a triathlete, illustrates a similar clash of exercise motives by outlining past history in which he felt less or more satisfaction with his body:

> I guess the first time I can specifically remember something was when I was eight. This is "chubby kid syndrome". A teacher said " Big breakfast today?" It was quite a snide comment, maybe my t-shirt was too tight or something, but my stomach was quite literally the thing that stuck out that day. The desirable body at high school was slim. Big wasn't considered to be good and the bigger people got hassled. That was fine, went in to adolescence became slim, so that sussed it. Then the problem went the other way. I was a beanpole then. I wasn't as in control of what my body shape was. But now as a consequence of my goals I've got a body shape that I know where it's heading towards. I'm more in control. My training at the moment is not giving me the body I like in terms of looks, ie running and cycling kill your upper body. I look like a pin. And when I train my upper body, it makes me too heavy for my

lower body which is detrimental to my success and appearance. Jules

Jules illustrates different stages in his body development history, from "chubby kid syndrome" to "beanpole" to a "pin" . At all these times he experienced body dissatisfaction in different forms, being bigger than the norm in childhood, being a beanpole in adolescence. Now he either "kills" his upper body as a result of exercise or alternatively is "too heavy for his lower body". As a consequence Jules, like Greg, exercises for two reasons. Both men exercise for appearance, and train for success in sports. They also demand both success and aesthetics of their bodies, but have not come to terms with the inherent dichotomy involved. 'Control' over their bodies still does not give them the body they desire.

Being 'bigger' was also important to Rob:

Like I wouldn't mind being a bit bigger, I suppose in the chest and legs, and basically all over, just tone up. So I can fill out a t-shirt. I feel as though my arms and my upper body is thin , so bad that you can see my ribs. And personally I think it is quite ugly and unattractive. If I'm looking at myself going, " Well, I don't like it" then I want to change it. Rob

Rob again illustrates a dissatisfaction with both certain parts of his body, and 'all over'. He identifies his legs, arms, and his chest as problem areas. Believing that his upper body as thin- so 'bad' that his ribs are prominent, he sees his appearance is 'ugly' and 'unattractive'. The importance of this unsightliness to Rob is highlighted by his needing to "fill out a t-shirt". Clearly his body satisfaction operates in the direction of weight gain and such change would make him feel better about himself.

For subjects experiencing body dissatisfaction in the direction of wishing to be bigger, many described themselves as "skinny" or "weak". The

remedy is to "bulk up" or "fill out" all or some parts of the body which are too skinny. Therefore, the image conveyed is of a body which is malleable and easily changeable for purely aesthetic reasons.

These men are actualising the importance of 'the look', and their willingness to alter their behaviour in order to transform their bodies. The dichotomy of appearance/function supports exercise motivation, yet provides an internal conflict on artificial construction through 'the gym'. This is in opposition to cultural pressure to appear "naturally" athletic.

Body Dissatisfaction: Weight Loss.

In addition to those wanting weight gain, 30% of the subjects wished to lose weight:

> I became very lazy and put on weight, and started to notice it in my face, and in the fit of my clothes. I could hardly get my belt around my waist. It was like about 10kg. It just doesn't feel good, and it didn't look good. I could see myself when I looked in the mirror and could see I was carrying a lot more weight than I used to. Some of my trousers I couldn't do up. I was always quite skinny. Eating junkfood like Macdonalds and KFC, pizzas, chocolate and lollies all the time, now I don't touch. Although, never in my life will I give up pizzas, ever. This year is the first year I have consciously exercised to keep my weight where it is now. Now, I want to be slim, fit and healthy, to be me again. Bob

Bob describes his body dissatisfaction in terms of how he feels which is a direct reflection of his appearance. To him his clothes, face, and the mirror reflect his weight gain. The total affect of dissatisfaction is described by not "feel [ing]" good, and not "look [ing]" good, which he also relates to being "very lazy". Exercise and eating "less junk food" are methods for him to lose weight and to "be me" again.

For many of the men dissatisfied with their body, clothes fit was an issue. Those wishing to "bulk up" wanted to be able to "fill out" a t-shirt. Whereas those wanting to lose weight were concerned with "Trousers not doing up". Clothes size is determined by body shape and weight at the time of obtaining these clothes. Therefore, clothes become an indicator of the gap between the body shape a person was (underweight or overweight) and the ideal (the muscular mesomorph).

As has been shown, the ideal athletic mesomorph emphasises lean muscle tone and definition. For men wishing to be bigger, weight gain is important because it is an indicator of positive change towards the ideal. However it is important to note that subjects stated weight gain was required in the 'right' place, that is, it should be a reflection of muscle bulk or tone in the certain areas that caused dissatisfaction, for example chest and shoulders. Conversely, weight gain in the 'wrong place' was in form of body fat and seen as negative, as shown by those who wish to lose weight (see next section). For all the men, body dissatisfaction was related to the discrepancy between their current body shape. The ideal the men wanted was a body that is not too thin, not too large, a body that displayed balanced bodily proportions and muscle tone.

The main site of body dissatisfaction for the respondents was upper body, specifically waist and chest. Research confirms these specific dimensions of body dissatisfaction. For example Gilmore (1994) states that body dissatisfaction in men is related to appearing unmasculine or effeminate. He goes on to state that "this obsession especially attaches to chest development, waist and hips. Our culture lays considerable stress on a manly physique" (p.70). This is confirmed by Neimark (1994) who reports that weight concerns in males focuses on "looking effeminate, puny, and thin" rather than carrying extra weight.

Accordingly, body dissatisfaction is associated more with low self-esteem in underweight rather than overweight males. Harmatz, Groendyke, & Thomas, (1985) found that body dissatisfaction appears to be greatest for those males who are below average weight for height, with serious negative effects on self-esteem and social adjustment. Mintz and Betz (1986) in a study of body image in men and women found that university age men with body dissatisfaction were likely to want to gain weight and to perceive themselves as lighter than their actual weight. These self perceived

underweight men were also the only group of men who disliked their bodies more than did similar weight category women.

Both research findings and the body dissatisfaction experienced by the respondents directly relates to the athletic mesomorph as the embodiment of masculinity. For those men who consider themselves underweight, they wish to build a larger body shape and have muscle definition. In comparison, males who are overweight, wish to lose weight and increase muscle tone. In addition, specific parts of the body may cause dissatisfaction, such as chest or waist.

Manufacturing the 'Right Look'

Reflective of these directions of body dissatisfaction are specific types of exercise to decrease the gap between actual and ideal body shape. Mishkind et al. 1986 found that men who want to increase their muscle size, tone and strength, men who wanted to transform their body into the muscular mesomorphic ideal, engaged in weight lifting or use weight training machines at the gym. Health motives also guided physical conditioning where men used long 'workouts' of running, swimming, aerobic exercising, or other activities that built stamina and endurance while decreasing body fat.

About 75% of the subjects used the gym either to supplement other sports or to change their body image:

> To change body image [I] go to the gym. The only reason I lift weights for me, is not for strength, but for the 'look' . Because if I don't go, I'll look like a fat slob , and I don't respect fat slobs. I've been to a couple of other gyms once, and I didn't like them [whereas] the varsity gym has mirrors on one wall and they seem to be necessary, and it is not a posy gym, cos I'm not very comfortable with them. It is not for the beautiful

people, it is for the people who are in a hurry and they go there, they don't look at anyone else and they leave, and that's fine. Jake

Succinctly, Jake wants to achieve "the look". The "reason" for justifying the use of weights is to change his body image, counter the look of a 'fat slob' and consequently improve his self-esteem. People who 'pose', the beautiful people, and the mirrors all become sources of comparison generating discomfort for him. The beautiful people seem to be those who fit the ideal and can consequently look at themselves in the mirror with satisfaction and not be afraid to 'pose' in front of others. For Jake, the mirror reflects himself and forces self-measurement. The beautiful people represent the ideal with which he must contrast himself. Coupled with attempting to change oneself, to obtain 'the look,' can cause more discomfort or even intimidation, as Rob explains:

I went to the gym, it just wasn't me, especially all the mirrors. The guys were pumped on steroids. I never once went to the weight room there because I felt intimidated. It was just basically body propelling: expanding body just to go for something better, look better,.. if you went to the gym, you weren't actually fit, you didn't have any stamina or anything, could just last a class or a weights routine. I thought: what is the point in going to the gym because you can't actually do anything truly physical?

I'd rather have the body to have a good game of something, than go to the gym for just , for the body. I did pick up squash, and I found that a really good release, you just sweat like buggery, and that was good, because good friends were into it, and they would play.

Rob

Rob, like Jake, felt intimidated by the gym, the mirrors, the guys who were 'pumped'. In justification of these feelings he criticises the whole point of the gym as a place for 'propelling' or 'expanding' the body, for mere aesthetic appearance. He even goes so far as to claim that the gym is not 'truly physical' and implies that it is a narcissistic place. Sport, he sees as "truly physical" and this is indicated by his preference for a functional body that can have "a good game of something" rather than a body which "looks better" and does not have "stamina". Rob sees the purpose of the gym as simply a place to improve one's appearance, an artificial environment.

Postmodern cultural theory provides some insight into the distinction between the truly physical, and manufactured body that Rob discusses. The muscular body has become part of popular culture, whereas before it may have been a result of a certain type of job (labouring) or a certain type lifestyle. As a result it is now an obtainable commodity attained through particular exercise and muscle training. The body image appearance and what it signifies, rather than the body itself, have become consumable commodities. The importance of the body is not what it does, but what it is worth, it's exchange-value to others (Featherstone, 1984). Just as David (the triathlete) and Drew (the model) previously proposed, there exists a dichotomy, the functional athletic body that can actually perform 'truly physical behaviour' and the gym manufactured body that appears as though it can as perform. Yet the distinction is blurred between what is truly physical, the body as a result of sport participation and what is constructed physically, the body manufactured for 'look'.

Harriss (1991) suggests the loss of the 'truly physical' is the loss of interest in what the body actually reflects, in essence and substance. Instead the emphasis is on look, surface, spectacle and pastiche. Day-to-day awareness of the current state of one's appearance is sharpened by comparison with one's own past photographic images as well as the idealised images of the human body which proliferate in advertising and the visual media. Images invite comparisons they are constant reminders of what we are and might with effort yet become (Van der Velde, 1985). It is these public images which provide some of the basis for body dissatisfaction. Definitions of role of the public self in determining self-esteem, and the effect on self-concept will now be discussed.

8.3 Private Versus Public Dichotomy: The Social Self.

Definitions

Definitions of the public self and private self are comparatively complex. With regard to the public self, there are two meanings to the term and they need to be distinguished with some care. On the one hand, the public self refers to a person's view of how he or she is perceived by others -a private view of the public self. On the other hand, the public self refers to how a person is in fact perceived by others-a public view of the public self. The private self can assume at least two meanings. It can refer to a persons' self-concept, to the manner in which a person thinks about themselves, positive or negative. This image is different from its evaluation, which is self-esteem, and is not necessarily unified either (Baumeister, 1986).

Given the complexity of the public/private self, it is difficult to clearly describe the relation between the two. However, one's physical appearance clearly has a significant role. It can be the outward manifestation of the private self, or can be manufactured to present a publicly readable self. Body image becomes a complex interplay of opinions, perspectives and judgements by the self and others.

The formation of body image is not limited to the perceptions of one's self. It also includes the appearances of others as presented in public life through the media, fitness and advertising industries. Assimilating all these opinions of others and accepting one 'ideal' seems futile given individual differences. However, the public appearance of the body forms the foundations of our concepts of others, and ourselves. In addition, bodily appearances and actions are unconcealable self-reflections that are continuously subject to the scrutiny of others in every encounter. Exploring

body image must consider both views, that of the private and the public because measures of self-perceived aesthetics or body image often have a modest-at-best empirical correspondence with socially perceived reality (Berscheid & Walster, 1974; Cash, 1981; Cash, 1985). In other words, being the body ideal is no guarantee of a favourable body image, and not being the ideal is not a decree for a negative body image. The complex fusion of the private-public self is a illustrated by Alex:

> What I think is the ideal body is what I want to get to. Because somebody else's is pointless, because I can't and don't want to get to it. I'd like to have toned, athletic body, like it looks like it exercises rather than it looks like it doesn't exercise. One reason is that I'd like to like what I've got (my body) and secondly, it is nice for my girlfriend to like what she has got, no chance to go elsewhere, and pretty obvious that everyone else will look at you when you are on the beach or what ever, and don't look at for the wrong reasons..umm like too fat or too skinny..or out of proportion small chest and huge stomach..negative remarks. I particularly don't want especially about me. Alex

Alex presents a 'private' ideal that is determined by the public ideal. He wants an athletic toned body that is looked at for the right reasons. "Too fat or skinny..or out of proportion" are perceived by him as negative comments. He then structures himself based on these polarities. He perceives his body is continually on display for all to see and judge. Inevitably, meeting others demands is adhering to the public body ideal that other subjects have already described as athletic and toned. And simultaneously, meeting that public ideal of being athletic and toned is Alexs' private ideal. The two are intimately entwined.

Van Der Velde (1985) hypothesises that body image, for males, provides three social functions. It enables men to:

§ project how others see them by means of their appearance and actions

§ control selectively the establishment and preservation of a desirable view of themselves

§ create within others impressions that may not reflect their actual selves.

If these functions are considered with regard to Alex's body ideal, we can see that he uses his body image to create the impression of an athletic body, which therefore controls others' response as it gives them no reason to make "..negative remarks.." . In addition it enables him to project how others see him, for "right" rather than "wrong reasons". Here, the body which has been traditionally aligned with the natural is now manufactured for the social. The body is constructed, created and consequently controlled.

Social psychology has long considered the relation between the public outer self and the private inner self (Baumeister, 1986). As has been shown by the respondents perceptions, the outer self or public physical appearance does not necessarily correspond with the private self, and can therefore be created.

Obviously, the private ideal body for each person may be different. Individual differences in how one perceives their body, how one feels about their body, and how important their body is to their overall self-esteem are obvious examples. An individual may use the public ideal as an indicator of what they should do to with their body, and consequently may use methods which will decrease the discrepancy between their own and this public ideal body.

Clearly, the majority of men in this study see the athletic mesomorph as the ideal. If they have become dissatisfied with their body there is a discrepancy between the public and private ideal and their perception of their body. They may utilise methods to decrease this satisfaction. For the males in the study , physical exercise was the most common way to decrease the gap and increase satisfaction.

Thus, the body is a strong link between our public appearance and our private reality. One way of knowing how our body appears to others is through their expression of opinion about us. If this opinion is negative, and we feel good about our body, then there is a discrepancy, and accordingly, if we feel bad ourselves and someone compliments us then there is also a discrepancy. The complexity of these points is outlined by Drew:

> I wonder what it is that makes people feel better about their bodies? It is not necessarily how you are eating..and it is not necessarily what your body looks like nor is it what people tell you about body but I suppose that helps. Someone may say: "Hey you're looking sharp!" and you go "Hey, I know I am!"and you may not have thought that, but if nobody said anything to you you may still feel good about your body which may have nothing to do with what you've been eating, or how much exercise you've been doing. Drew

Drew articulates the complex variables that contribute to how one feels about their body. For some, evaluations of ones' body with others may results in wishing to change some aspect of their appearance.

For some the body physical becomes a focus and a determinate of the body psychological. The role of exercise becomes very important in controlling and maintaining one's sense of self, as explained by Steve:

> I exercise towards a reasonably aesthetically pleasing but not huge physique. Each person wants something different from their own body; muscle tone, some for strength, some for look, and some for proving to themselves that they are not that flabby little kid they once were. I have wanted all these things, at different times. From focusing on your body, physical prowess becomes a physical or integral part of the psyche, [And] as a result of being critically focused on your own body, you tend to become more critical of others. I am fitter than most people around my age, and younger, and people know so and it is therefore very positive, and gives one of many good reasons to continue. Socially it is important to me that I am attractive to the opposite sex, and my self esteem.
>
> Steve

Steve sums up the relation between body image and exercise for men. Through different time periods 'muscle tone', 'strength' and 'proving self' are important, and Steve has "want[ed] all these things at different times". Presently he wants to project an aesthetically pleasing body that is attractive to others. As a result of his relationship with his body and the critical focus it creates, his "physical prowess" becomes an integral part of his "psyche" or private self. He can control selectively the establishment and preservation of a desirable view of himself indicating a clear relation between his public and private self. Consequently, he becomes more critical of others as well as himself, his focus being on his evaluation of his publicly readable self.

Given the complexity of the public/private self, it is difficult to clearly describe the relation between the two. However, as has been demonstrated thus far, physical appearance clearly has a significant role. It can be the outward manifestation of the private self, or can be manufactured to present a desirable public self. Body image becomes a complex interplay of opinions, perspectives and judgements by the self and others. Steve demonstrates a strong link between focus on his body determining self-esteem, and the link with his self-concept, which is related to his social self. It is the subjects' experience of exercise in relation to their social self we now turn.

8.4 Exercise and the Social Self

Based on empirical research and the subjects' descriptions, the body ideal for males is that of the muscular mesomorph, symbolised by the athlete. As a result, body dissatisfaction for males operates in two directions, either losing or gaining weight. Both dissatisfaction accrue around increasing muscle tone. According to the males interviewed and other secondary research, the primary method employed by males dissatisfied with aspects of their bodies comes in the form of exercise (Franzoi and Shields, 1984; Mishkind et al., 1986). The term "exercise" can be used in a broad sense to encompass all aspects of movement including sport, physical recreation, and fitness activities (Dukes, 1990). However, the definition of exercise was particular to each respondent. For example, some saw the gym as not 'truly physical', or merely 'manufacturing a look'. The majority saw exercise as encompassing all aspects of movement.

Research suggests that greater body satisfaction is associated with increases in exercise participation. However, this relationship is a complex one. Exercise may be used simply for health reasons. However the benefits are not simply physiological. There are a plethora of documented psychological and physical benefits. These can include improved cardiovascular functioning, reductions in hypertension, and an antidote to depression and anxiety (see McCann & Holmes, 1984 for a review).

In addition, for the majority of the respondents, participation in exercise or sport was also an important part of their identity and development of masculinity. Whitson (1990) suggests that sport has become one of the central sites in the social production of masculinity. He goes on to say that exercise in various forms, such as participation in sport, has been shown as an integral part of male development. The qualities or characteristics considered appropriate to a man are termed masculine traits .

Inherent in this definition of masculinity is the display of action and function through physical activity and sport. Sport is one of the primary ways men are taught to be competitive (Verser, 1981).

Levinson (1978) postulates a unifying theme of masculinity: a concern with doing, making, having. A man's body can be a vehicle for demonstrating his masculinity, by acquiring special strength, endurance, sexual virility, and athletic prowess. Relatedly, male self-esteem derives from success with experiences in vocations, positions of power and competition, which includes the sporting arena (Wilson and Wilson, 1976). Tied directly to the role of sport in male development is the 'image' of the athlete. Presentations of the ideal in various forms of media become reminders of what men can become, with the right amount of exercise and discipline.

For the men interviewed, there was a litany of reasons for why they exercised, which included social reasons, weight control, and increasing physical attractiveness. Reasons did not exist in isolation from one another and the explanations for why they began exercising were not necessarily the same as the reason they continued. All men suggested exercise was an important part of their lives and personality definition and for some, an important determinate of self-esteem.

As already shown, the type of exercise used by the subjects was in some cases reflective of their specific body dissatisfaction. Men who want to increase their muscle size, tone and strength, that is attempt to embody the muscular mesomorphic ideal, used weight training machines at the gym. And to those who proclaimed health motives through physical conditioning used long 'workouts' of running, swimming, aerobic exercising, or other activities that build stamina and endurance while decreasing body fat.

This section discusses the social importance and reasons for exercise in the group of respondents. Due to amount of information to be discussed, and therefore clarity of discussion, these reasons will be divided up into four sections: The developmental role of sport, exercise and weight loss, exercise and sexual desirability and finally, the role of sport in cultural identity.

The Role of Sport in Male Identity Development

Both Connell (1982) and Messner (1985) describe sport as the source of the establishment of public masculine identity for the young adolescent or a masculinizing practice. They suggest, that from boyhood through to adulthood, sport participation often acts as a central aspect of the individual life structure of the male. Sport is more concerned with doing and achieving, than it is about fun, thus it is of integral importance in the passage into adult manhood.

For a majority of respondents, their first experience with sport was at school. For 50%, this was a positive experience:

> I guess all my friends played [sport]. There was school work, but school sports was my whole life. It was more social than anything else. In school it was important to involve yourself in school things, social things. Doing things with people, etc. At that stage, the social side was the main motivation. Bob

The relationship of being with friends in sporting activities is deemed important, and as Bob states "was my whole life". The motivation for sport participation was directly related to facilitation and maintenance of the social ethic.

Early studies of masculinity and sports argued that sports socialises boys to men (Lever, 1976; Schafer, 1975). Through sport participation, boys learn cultural values and behaviours, such as competition, toughness, and winning at all costs. These conditioned behaviours become the basis of culturally valued aspects of masculinity. Jake discusses his cultural conditioning:

> From sport at high school, you begin to compare yourself against others. This guy is fat and slow, this guy is really big and muscly, etc. That kept me going, rather than competing with yourself you now compete with others. Jake

For Jake, participation in sport facilitated the development of comparative, and consequently, competitive behaviour. Development of the male self is intimately tied to competence and success in ones' chosen interests and consequently approval from others. For both females and males, the sex-role stereotype and societies' cultural values choose what your interests will be. Traditionally for males these interests come in the form of sports, competition, and achievement. Adolescence is marked by the developmental task of individuation which is accomplished, paradoxically, only through relationships with other people in the social world. Therefore, although the major task of masculinity is the development of a "positional identity" that clarifies the boundaries between the self and other, this separation must be accomplished through some form of connection with others. For 50% of men in this study, the rule-bound structure of sports became a context in which they strived to construct a masculine positional identity:

> Well, like most people around that age, unless you are in the 'in' group, and I wasn't, I found it [sport] very positive and it gave me some direction in life, where I couldn't find it terms

> of employment. I wasn't very social, and through sport I met others into it which gave something to do and people to compete and compare myself to. David

David recognises the developmental difficulties of young male adulthood after school life: social isolation, employment, and direction. Sport provided him with positive direction and something to focus on, and a way to meet people. Male development is differentiated from female development in that females describe their identities based around who they are, whereas men on the other hand describe themselves primarily in terms of accomplishments and achievements that will set them apart from others. Thus David established a "positional identity" through definition and articulation within competitive hierarchies of sport (Gilligan, 1982).

Social experience as an important motive for exercise participation is evident at all ages (Gould & Horn, 1984). Affiliation or the desire to become part of a team, to be with friends or to make new friends, is a leading motive for participation in youth sports. University students, both athletes and non-athletes, have indicated that social interaction is an important part of their attraction to sport. Both students and older adults value the opportunities to interact and form relationships (Mathes & Battista, 1985; Heinmann, 1986).

David highlights the importance of being in a group during adolescence, and that this experience is "very positive". This relation between group membership and positive direction is also explained by Neil:

> Probably at high school we trained every day after school for two hours, for most sports. I was 14, -15. It [sport] was most important in terms of group activity-socially. I would say there has been no time it has been unimportant. You are part of the team, bond with the guys, hang out, go on trips, that sort of stuff, a sense of belonging. Neil

Neil describes sport as important because of the associated social experiences of "bonding", "being part of the team", and consequently facilitating a "sense of belonging". Messner (1985) highlights sport as an important male-bonding experience. Sports participation and competitive activities mediate men's relationships with each other in ways that allow them to develop a bond while at the same time preventing the development of intimacy. For the male who is not involved in sport, these social processes are very apparent, as Chris describes:

> I suppose it [sport at school] was relatively important in terms of being a socialisation. It was a chance that, ok I've done ok academically, I want to prove to other people that I'm not just a swotty nerd. That I could do other stuff as well. That I had to achieve something in other areas rather than academically. So I sort of took up sports that I had an interest in, and seemed to do okay at. Other people who were good at sport seemed to have it better socially. As I say, the fact I wanted to be better all round. I could see at that at times that people who were good at sport attracted other people and had more friends..it was a social thing, more than a competitive thing. Chris

Chris was motivated to 'prove' to other people at school that he was not simply a 'swotty nerd' academic. Sport participation and especially achievement in sport was the way to prove this and get more friends. As Connell (1983) states; "Sport [] is the central experience of the school years for many boys, and something which even the most determined swots have to work out their attitude to." (p.18). Among adolescent males sources of recognised masculine authority (earning power, sexual relations, or fatherhood) are not yet recognised, so the development of body appearance and body language that are suggestive of force and skill are experienced as

an urgent task. This explains Chris's aim to prove that he was "good at sport" as well as academia. Interestingly, Connell (1983) goes on to say that work, and it can be suggested, superior earning power attached to success in intellectual work, fatherhood, and success in adult sexual relations are the typical ways in which nonphysical adult men establish masculinity.

Both secondary research and the primary material of the subjects' experience highlight the important role of sport in the establishment of masculine identity. Through being able to participate with others, compete with others and gain from the experience with others, the subjects saw sports beneficial to developing an accepted male identity.

Exercise as a Form of Weight Loss

The end of adolescence and beginning of young adulthood is often marked by a decline in the efficiency of most body functions (Brooks and Fahey, 1984). In addition there may be situational changes, such as beginning tertiary education and/or joining the workforce. A majority (90%) of respondents were around this young adulthood age bracket (20-25 yrs). As a result, sport participation may not be as regular and particular methods may need to be utilised to maintain body shape and muscle tone:

> Since I left school it [exercise] has been a body oriented thing for me rather than socially oriented thing, mainly because I stopped growing and put on weight, which didn't look good. I'm more at the gym for fitness and to lose weight whereas my basketball is more social and fun. Some of the time I think I want to change my body shape and I've done weights as opposed to circuits a few times because I wanted bigger muscles (sort of). Yes and no. Yes I want to change my body shape but it is more I want to lose weight than change my shape. The shape of my body isn't that important, it is more for health reasons and self esteem. I guess probably don't have as good self-esteem with more weight. Thomas

As Thomas described, for most men there is a shift in the motivation to exercise from "socially oriented" to "body oriented". Orientation of exercise behaviour is important. The reason for exercise changes with different priorities. For Thomas, "putting on weight" which "didn't look good" became the reason he exercised. He describes a complex combination of doing sport for social reasons, but supplements this exercise by going to the gym to lose weight and get "bigger muscles". However, Thomas claims it is not the shape of his body that is of concern, rather the size and weight. Clearly, there exists a duality with regard to sports participation. The two independent yet underlying motivations to exercise are social reasons for enjoyment and fun, and a method to change body appearance. As a result of his body dissatisfaction, Thomas wishes to create the image of a muscular athlete using gym work, which will consequently increase his self-esteem. He presents his body as malleable and controllable through exercise, counteracting the physiological changes experienced as a result of young adulthood.

Alex also conveys a similar transition, from sport being socially oriented to being body oriented:

> When you play a lot of sport, you really never have to worry about your body, because you are naturally fit. Stopping doing a lot of sport , like school life is finished, presents the opportunity to have to worry and ensure maintenance of your body. It is so easy to let yourself go in a busy lifestyle, weight gain and so forth, focus on body maintenance is important. I have had to consciously think about what I eat and what exercise I do. It [sport] takes away having to worry.
>
> Alex

Alex illustrates the role sport plays in maintaining appearances. Only without sports participation, does the effect and importance become apparent. Sport and the physical benefits "take away having to worry" about ones' body. However in a 'busy lifestyle' sport is not a priority, instead it is a necessity because it is "so easy to let yourself go". For both Thomas and Alex, the role of and reasons for exercise can be seen to change, from enjoyment to bodily maintenance.

A majority of subjects reported starting to exercise because they had become dissatisfied with some aspect of their bodies.

> My first year of university I didn't do any sport at all. I sat at home and listened to jazz and I put on a little weight. I preferred to be slimmer, so I took up running and that was sort of my reinforcement, losing weight. Roger

> I put on weight, like I'm thinking "Shit". Up till my early 20's I could eat anything, as I got older, I had to make an effort not to. And exercise became a way to help control my weight. Bob

> I found that the flexibility of university that when I was socialising, I would do so between every lecture, and have a cup of coffee, and found at age 23, that my metabolism had slowed down somewhat, and that I began to put on weight, and I basically used exercise as a way of regulating my weight...I felt unhappy with my body, so I wanted to improve it, tone it. Chris

A majority (70%) of subjects reported that because of changes in one or more parts of their lives plus overeating and under exercising, their bodies responded with weight gain. Exercise was a way to "regulate" or "control" this weight gain. Indeed, empirical research suggests age-related increase in exercise is due to changes in body shape. As the muscle-to-fat ratio declines with age, physical activity will exert a more powerful influence on body

composition compared to influence at younger age (DiPetro,Casperen & Eaker, ,1993). A similar situation described by many of the subjects was the return from an overseas trip as explained by Jack:

> I maintain my body now, because when I came back from Europe I was 12kg heavier than I am now and pretty unfit and flabby, and it does have some reflection on your own self esteem. To me it is not heavily tied in with how you feel about yourself but it combines with other factors and then it becomes an issue, like other people commenting, not fitting clothes, having to cut back on nice foods, or bad ones depending on the way you see it. Jack

For Jack, it was not weight gain per se' that had an effect on his self-esteem. It was the combination of external cues such as clothing fit, others' comments and food restriction. 'Nice' food for him before now became 'bad' food as it was part of the reason for his weight gain. Rhys describes a similar experience:

> When I was overseas I sent a photo back and everyone commented on how chubby I had got "blown up like a balloon." Other comments have been "you're looking a bit chubby", usually by my mum or my girlfriend. Otherwise, comments are when I'm looking really good and fit and strong. Usually by my flatmates, at the beach, or by my friends people close to me. If I was to 'balloon' I'd start feeling bad about myself. It wouldn't be very pleasant, and people would look at me funny and say: "Ahh!..you've changed". It would be very depreciating. People close to me would make sure they pointed it out to me, in order for me to fix it, but they'd be tactful about it. To fix it I would exercise. Rhys

Rhys highlights the importance of construction of others opinion by projection, in maintenance of his own body image. He uses others'

comments as an indicator of whether his current 'public' self matches his ideal 'public' body. He then structures himself based on these polarities, and forms control over the projection of his body. Exercise would become the method of controlling his weight.

The point that Rhys and Jack illustrate is that a combination of factors dictate or become a measure of how one should feel about themselves. Of these factors, others' opinions focuses attention on the discrepancy between the ideal and reality thus directs one to 'fix' the problem. The public appearance of one's body clashes with the private reality of how a person feels about their body. Body image becomes an external indicator of whether or not someone is been 'good' or is in 'control ' of themselves, and if their body does not display these messages then it should be 'fixed'. The meaning of the body, the value that society places on appearance and whether or not one's body fits the ideal provides a combination of messages and attitudes that is difficult to ignore.

Weight gain is interpreted by others as "out of shape" and is combined with an expectation that the individual will "do something about it." Dan describes a situation when he felt such pressures:

> People were saying in a very nice way, 'oh, you've put on a few pounds there.' They were remarking on the fact that there was this little roll there that hadn't been there before. After a while, the opinions of other people get to be quite cumulative, and for me, when people first started saying things to me, it actually conflicted with my own image of what my body was and I didn't take a lot of notice and I literally laughed at them. Over time more and more people have said things so I've come to believe it. Partly I'm irritated with having to conform, and taking it on board for myself. Yeah, subtle pressure over time.
> Dan

Dan explains the cumulative effect of others' opinions. Initially, the public opinions clashed with his own private opinion of what his body image was. His weight was not of concern, yet "subtle pressure over time" increased his concern. Dan started to base his body image through the eyes of others. As a result his weight and bodily appearance became more of a focus for him:

> When I was exercising to change my body I started monitoring myself in a way that I hadn't done..so their would be these things that people would say, and they would come intermittently. But when I started exercising I was more aware of my body and how it appeared. Whether I was losing any weight or not losing any weight...I was more focused. Dan

Dan illustrates that one's body image is associated with others' appraisals of and reactions to one's appearances and actions. He also shows how men become more self monitoring, more bodily aware as both consequence of social pressure and to meet new social pressures.

Clearly a person who strives to bridge the self-ideal gap will experience a heightened attentiveness to and focus on their body. This may render their standards more perfectionistic (and hence perhaps more out of reach) and enhance their perceptions of their shortcomings (Rodin et al., 1985). Change in body shape then becomes a reason to exercise as many of the subjects indicated:

> [Exercise] is just a means to an end, that is trim down, shape up and look good. I want to keep fit I have been quite shocked at how unfit I am. Micheal

Subjects speak of exercise as "controlling" and "regulating" weight, consequently feeling the need to "trim down, shape up" and "be slimmer",

which in turn is associated with "look[ing] good". The relationship of 'looking good' and weight gain seems clear. As a result of changes in situation, such as leaving school, growing older, going overseas, and associated physiological changes incorporating body weight gain, metabolism slowing and fitness decreasing, unwanted weight was gained by some of the respondents. Exercise became a method to reduce this weight, to change body shape, and improve self-esteem by meeting the expectations of others.

In the process of conforming to the social standards the men learned to adeptly monitor themselves, watch themselves, judge and evaluate themselves based on the opinion and standards of others. That standard is internalised as they attempt to increase their "exchange-value" by "being some body" in the consumer market place.

The above quotes illustrate the transition and effect of change, both physical and environmental during young adulthood on the body. Related to these changes during the development of masculine identity is the need to compete for sexual relations.

Exercise and Sexual Desirability

> " With smouldering eyes and tousled hair, a vision of beauty smiles down at us from billboards, struts nightly across our television screens, stares blankly from the pages of magazines. But this time around there's a big difference - that near-naked specimen of pouting perfection is male." Drake, 1994

The use of muscle as a sexual signal is a powerful motivator, successfully exploited by the billion-dollar gym industry. There exists a strong link between male physical strength, and muscles with sexual potency. The world's largest selling contemporary bodybuilding magazine, Muscle and Fitness, owes much of its circulation success to this association of muscular development with increased sexual potency (Dutton, 1995). Its cover-slogans clearly intend to convey that the muscular mesomorph body is an enhancer of sexual attractiveness. "Why Women love Athletic Men" (Sep. 1995) or "Strong Bodies are Sexier" (January, 1991) are two examples of it. Exercise is portrayed as a method to manipulate one's body, and therefore become more attractive. This message of improved sexual prowess, whether hinted-at or openly proclaimed through the media, was described blatantly by James:

> The motivation to exercise now, to use a politically incorrect term, is to get a flat stomach, to get sex. That is not a prime motivation but it is definitely there. That has become a motivation. Fill some ideal, you know, get the shoulder muscles, the surfboard stomach. [] Yeah, I thought, basically this is what I should be doing if I want get a good butt and get babes, sort of thing. Jake

Jake describes honestly that one of his "politically incorrect" reasons for exercise was "to get sex". Having a "good butt", "shoulder muscles", and

a "surfboard stomach" is linked with getting sex and thus filling another form of the ideal. For James, the motivation to take up some form of physical exercise is grounded in the desire to make the body more physically attractive, rather than the quest for better health or improved fitness. This association of muscular development with heightened sexual attractiveness, that James relates, goes hand in hand with the image of the visible muscularity as an erotically attractive signal (Connell, 1995).

Morris (1971) explains the appeal of muscle building behaviour among adolescent and young adult males within ethological theory. His "dominance-display" theory relates the identification of physical dominance with sexual rivalry. That is, development of the body is a method enabling dominance over competition for sexual partners. An example of this 'dominance-display' is described by Greg :

> When I was single, I exercised for attractiveness. It was really important for me to feel healthy and strong because I had a period of promiscuity. I slept with several prostitutes who taught me heaps about sex. One of the things I was taught was to be more proficient for the women, if I'm better for her, she is better for me. Part of that process required physical stamina, being able to do things in certain ways.
>
> The other part of the role of exercise maintenance and having a good body image is so you could get sex. I found that if I exercised, I would improve my body image, which meant I picked up women more easily, and when we had sex, I could perform more proficiently. Quite a clear relationship. In the pub it was survival of the fittest and the least pissed. Greg

Greg describes the link between exercising his body as a method to increase his attractiveness and consequently pick up women more easily. Viewed in this light, Glen shows how "Survival of the fittest" is meant in the literal sense of "in good health or athletic condition", but also related to

the construction of a dominating body, through exercise, over competition for sexual partners.

Miles (1991) proposes that being or appearing as an athlete, body-builder or sportsperson is a clear and overt statement of manhood and male potency, and the clearest possible message to women and other men. This, Miles claims, is a form of phallic symbolism of the male body which is most clearly observable in men's use of sport and physical activity as a means of enhancing their body image and thus gaining status in the eyes of other men. The effect of this message is described by David:

> To be completely honest, which I have to, I got together with a friend from school and when we would go to the nightclub, and girls just weren't interested in it, but they were all around guys who had these national team tracksuits on. So the way to do it would be to get a New Zealand tracksuit, so I'd have to go to the Olympics, and that was seriously my initial reason to get into it [sport]. David

David sees the link between sporting prowess and sexual des..ability. He interpreted that the reason women at the nightclub were interested in the men was because they were athletes. Therefore, his motivation to begin sport, was to also be able to attract women, and assert the same message of 'manhood' to other men.

However, as has been shown, the well advertised method of exercise to manufacture a body which appears like an athlete becomes, as good as having a body that performs like one. The concept of fitness as literally meaning "in good health or athletic condition" , also means, as the subjects stated, "the right size or shape" and also "well adapted, suited, adapt, make competent", "good enough, in a suitable condition, ready". The plural of these above definitions is true of the ideal male body image of the athlete.

All these explanations and theories of the role of the muscular mesomorph are best explained by the model suggested by Connell (1987), whereby certain masculinities are seen as more dominant or hegemonic than others within any particular society. Hegemonic masculinity renders inferior not only femininity in all its forms but also nonhegemonic forms of masculinity (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985). The sporting man is one of the contemporary models of hegemonic masculinity. The models exist in the various forms of power that men ideally possess: the power to assert control over women, over other men, over their own bodies, over machines and technology (Segal, 1990). Sporting champions embody this putative ideal of a dominant and successful masculinity. To be better at sport, even by implication through body appearance is symbolically translatable into being better or more capable in other areas of life (Bryson, 1990).

As we have seen, the athletic muscular mesomorph is an overt statement of dominance, and by obtaining it enables men to compete against one another for sexual partners. Thus the look and the image of participating in sports and exercise is a form of raising a male bodys' exchange-value, and consequently filling the mould of hegemonic masculinity.

The Body Ideal and New Zealand Culture

Many of the men interviewed expressed opinions of the role of sport and masculinity specifically within New Zealand cultural context. Thus, an integral part of analysis of the male body image (in New Zealand) is the role that national identity plays in the construction of masculinity. The men interviewed described many of the ways it is expected within New Zealand society that a man must play sport, exercise and thus appear fit and prepared to participate. The reward of maintaining a fit appearance is cultural acceptance and respect as exemplified by the phrase, "being a real kiwi".

Sport, for a long time has been viewed as a major socialising agent of New Zealand society, and in particular school sport and physical education has traditionally been concerned with values of fairness, skill, and achievement. There can be little doubt however, as much research has demonstrated, that sport values, or the ideology of sport, are essentially 'in tune' with main stream values of other institutional areas of society. Thus, the issue of cultural identity is tied closely with the ideology of sport as explained by Tom:

> I enjoy sport for the way it makes me feel in myself, part of something, a sense of team spirit. But it's never been so I can become some sporting icon or to fit some particular image. Some people do, as there is an attitude which comes with the image. The 'real kiwi attitude' . And some people want that, you know, "be a real kiwi" is being good at sport, going along with the team. It is part of the male kiwi body image : competitive, fit, strong, attractive to girls, a good job, and most importantly, good at sport. Fit in more ways than one, fit to be a member of our society. It is drilled into us since school. Tom

Tom provides a synopsis of the relation between sport, masculinity, the male body and cultural identity in New Zealand. Being a "real kiwi" is a combination of sporting prowess, physical attractiveness, competence, and team spirit, therefore the image of hegemonic masculinity. He also highlights the meaning of fitness as both being an acceptable member of society, and being as well physically functional.

Fougere (1989) suggests that sport in New Zealand symbolises a pattern of social relationships, and as such, provides an important basis for the construction of a sense of national unity and individual identity. He goes on to suggest that sport carries "cultural freight" in its powerful embodiment of masculine identity.

James and Saville-Smith (1989) suggest that "perhaps because sport so neatly integrates the disparate elements of male culture (the group dependency, the risk, the violence, and the virility), sport has been the means by which the images embedded in the male culture have become synonymous with the [New Zealand] national character." (p.39). Clearly, maintaining a body so it fits the image of masculinity is also embodying national identity, being a fit citizen, a "real kiwi", as Bob explains:

> This year is the first year I have consciously exercised to keep my weight where it is now. Now, I want to be slim, fit and healthy, to be me again I like being able to do things and being fit enough to actually do them..be prepared. I like the outdoors. It's part of being a kiwi male, sport, tramping, being outside in the sun, swimming in the sea. Everything we do is outside. The problem is, if you haven't got the body which enables you to do these things, then you're not a real kiwi.
> Bob

Being a "real kiwi", as described by Brian involves being healthy, fit, and involved in sport and the "great outdoors". As a "sporting nation" New

Zealand is portrayed or promoting a certain lifestyle, and in many ways expecting a certain behaviour. Men are rewarded by becoming a real "kiwi". Important is the body which can meet that demands of the lifestyle. The concept of fitness is generalised in meaning to being well adapted and good enough to be 'kiwi' citizen. Accordingly, when re-entering New Zealand society, there is a contrast effect which highlights the importance and role of fitness in culture as David explicates:

> Just when I came back from overseas it [exercise[was pretty important actually, and in some ways it was a cultural thing, because where I'd been they didn't exercise for the reasons we exercise..I spent a lot of time in Asia, and the idea of exercising to get fit is pretty unheard of, they just don't do that and coming back here..I suppose in some ways it was like getting back into a New Zealand lifestyle so that was part of it. You had to get back into it, [There is] this real emphasis on looking a certain way and yeah, fitness as a culture [] and I did notice it coming back here. I don't know if it was consciously what I thought, but it was part of reasoning in what motivated me to start exercising again. Its a shock coming back here. David

By comparing New Zealand and Asia, David constructs the borders of New Zealand national identity through male body image and physical fitness. The 'emphasis on looking a certain way' can be directly related to the athletic mesomorph male ideal as described by other respondents. Within the 'New Zealand lifestyle' David feels motivated to begin exercise again therefore adhering to the cultural identity of the 'sporting kiwi" as mentioned previously by Bob.

Such expectations and pressures of maintaining 'fit' public appearances are felt and become part of social conscience. This can be seen as a direct effect of society prescribing, the consequences being proscription.

Accordingly, one's social conscience is tied to maintaining this ideal, as Drew outlines :

> There is times when I have [food] binged, not done much exercise and like any good kiwi, you feel guilty because it's something that is born into you, because of the society we live in. The concept of lack of exercise and getting less fit and the guilt thing -the good kiwi thing- quite a factor of our society. I would be feeling guilty for letting my body down or let myself down because I'd beaten it around, poured all these toxins into it and stuff, and that where the guilt is as well. A personal thing, what a stupid way to let yourself down. You see the image around, in people and in the media of a young, healthy, attractive and successful sportsman, and you know that is what is expected of you. It's like you are not only letting yourself down but also others as well, what they think of you is important. You are not living up to expectations.

Drew connects his own guilt for bingeing and lack of exercise to the prevalent social conscience based on maintaining ones' appearance. Body abuse is seen as self-indulgent behaviour: "letting himself down", and the message from society is that of self-responsibility for health, body shape and appearance. Maintaining a fit and healthy appearance are part of being a 'fit' member of society, therefore one who is responsible and appears responsible through their physical appearance.

8.5 Summary

Development of the self is intimately tied to competence in ones' chosen interests and approval from others. For males, the sex-role stereotype and societies' cultural values chooses what your interests will be; sports, competition, achievement. Therefore physical appearance of oneself should reflect the ability to meet the demands of competition in all forms, sexual, social, athletic. This body is given approval from others in the form of social advantages: sexual desirability and acceptability in peer groups. It also embodies the traits inherent in masculinity; power, strength, endurance. Without this body, one feels a failure for not embodying masculine ideals.

Exercise becomes a form of self-monitoring on order to maintain appearances, and stay in the shape proscribed to males by the wider social context through media and culture. The degree to which ones' private self matches ones' public self begins to matter little. The rewards in meeting societal demands by appearance, only outweigh personal development. Thus, one's public self becomes one private self. The loss of individuality and self-worth are no match to cultural acceptance.

The very physical nature of sport gives it special significance because of the fundamental link between social power and physical force. Sport is a major arena in which physical force and toughness are woven into hegemonic masculinity and the resultant ideology transmitted. Proscription is no barrier to the consequences of cultural pressures. But it does highlight the dichotomy between the role of appearances and actual identity.

Chapter 9.

Quantitative Results

Results are presented in four sections, as outlined below. Complete results from all analyses appear in Appendix 2.

SECTION	TOPIC	HYPOTHES(ES)
9.1	Descriptive statistics for both groups merged	4
9.2	Exercisers versus non-exercisers	1,2,3
9.3	Correlations among variables	2,5
9.4	Summary	

Distribution of Variables

Shapiro-Wilks, W test of normality found that all variables were not normally distributed. In light of this result, and because the data are both ordinal and categorical, non-parametric analyses were used.

9.1 Descriptive statistics

Table 1 presents the median (Mdn), and minimum/maximum values obtained on each of the four scales, for both exercisers and non-exercisers merged. It also shows the maximum score possible for each scale. Both generally reported feeling neutral about their bodies at their present weight, Mdn=3 and neutral in their satisfaction with their present body weight, Mdn=3. They reported their body as reasonably important about how they felt about themselves in general, Mdn=3. Subjects reported moderate levels of global self-esteem, Mdn=4. With regard to the discrepancy between current and ideal body weight and shape, subjects

reported wanting to gain weight *Mdn* =5.55, and preferred a larger body size, *Mdn* =1.

Reasons for exercise for all subjects are presented in Fig. 1. As shown, the most important reasons for exercise was attractiveness (M =5.2) and health (M =5.3).

Degree of body weight satisfaction (BWS) is presented in Fig. 2. A majority (40%) of subjects reported being dissatisfied with their appearance at their present weight. The remaining were either neutral (35%) or satisfied (25%) with their appearance at their current weight.

Body weight descriptions (BWD) are presented in Fig. 3. The majority (47.5%) described themselves as underweight or very underweight. The remaining described themselves as overweight (34%) or average weight (19%).

Reported current and ideal body shapes are presented in Fig. 4. As evident from Fig. 2, the ideal body shape drawing was NO. 4, with 50% of the subjects choosing this as their ideal body shape.

***Table 1**: descriptive statistics for exercising and non-exercising subjects. N=80.*

Variable	**Median (*Mdn*)**	**Min.**	**Max.**	**Total possible**
Body Description	3	1	5	5
Body Weight Satisfaction	3	1	5	5
Body Focus	3	1	5	5
Body Weight Discrepancy	5.55	-30	20	20
Body Shape Discrepancy	1	-3	3	3
Rosenberg's Self-esteem	4	1	6	6
Body Mass Index	24	3.27	18	34

Fig 1. Reasons for exercise in exercising and non-exercising Subjects

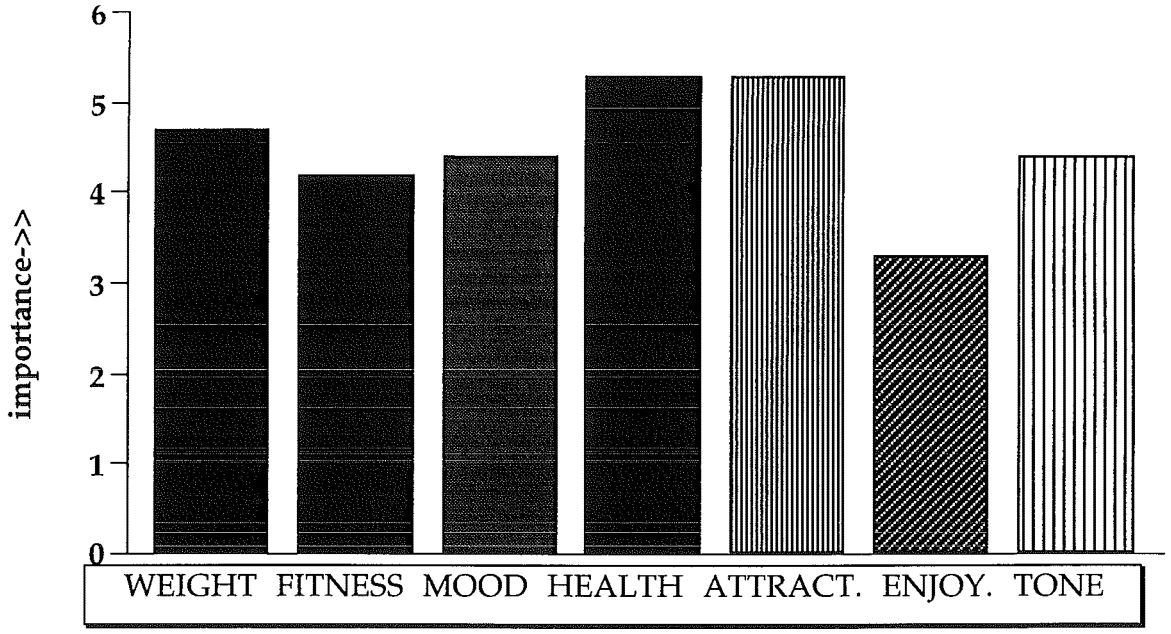
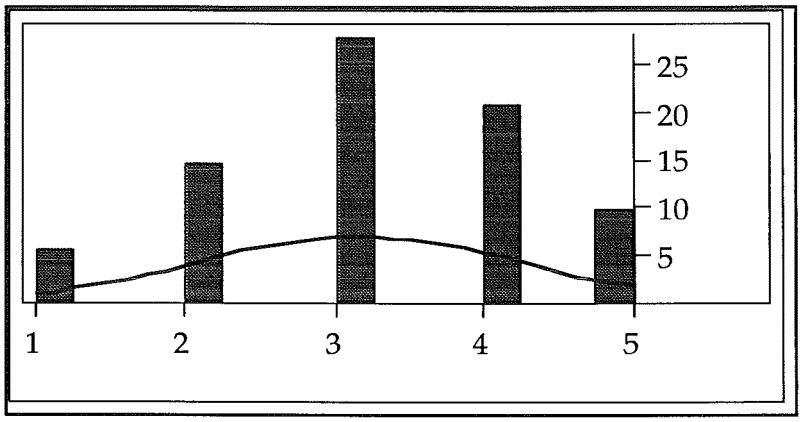


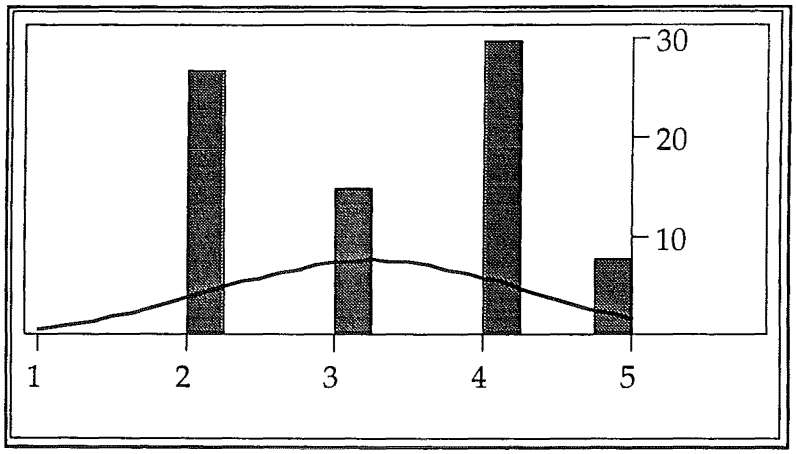
Figure 2. Body Weight Satisfaction in both exercising and non exercising samples



LEGEND:

Level		*Count*	*Percentages*
1	Completely Satisfied	6	7.5%
2	Satisfied	15	18.7%
3	Neutral	28	35%
4	Dissatisfied	21	26.2%
5	Very Dissatisfied	10	12.5%

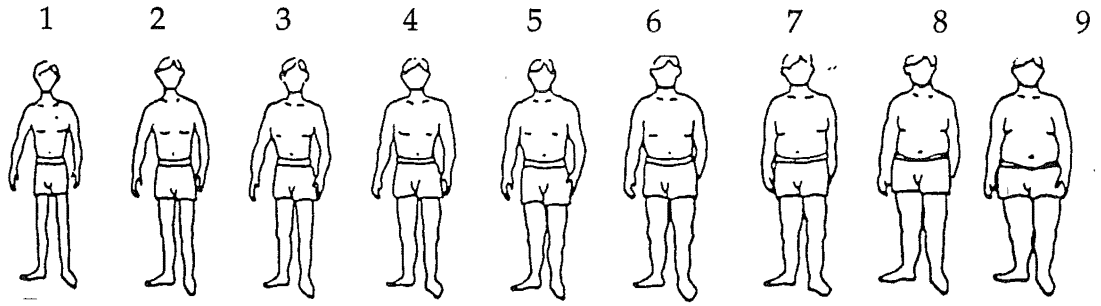
Figure 3. Body Weight Description in exercising and non exercising samples



LEGEND:

Level	*Description*	*Count*	*Percentage*
2	slightly overweight	27	34 %
3	about average	15	18 %
4	slightly underweight	30	38 %
5	very underweight	8	10 %

Figure 4 *Percentage of subjects choosing each drawing on the BSD measure as representing their perceived and ideal figures.*



	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Perceived:	3.7%	26.2%	27.5%	13.7%	7.5%	10%	8.5%	2.5%	0
Ideal:	1.2%	1.2%	22.5%	50%	25%	0	0	0	0

9.2 Exercisers versus non-exercisers

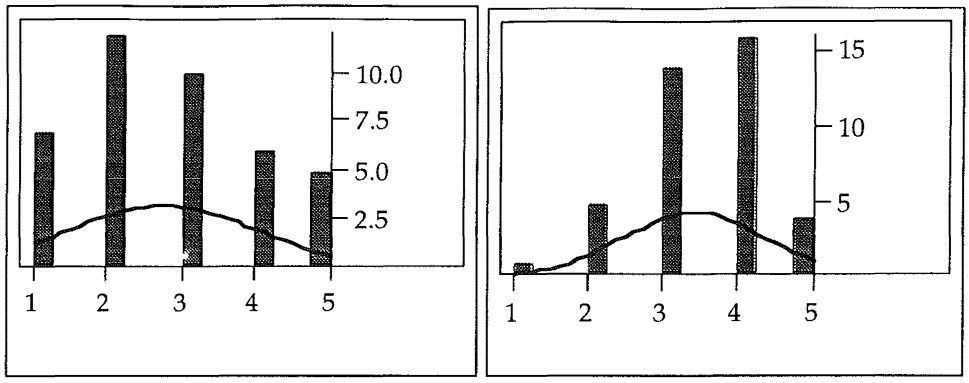
To examine the differences between the two samples; exercisers and non-exercisers, the Wilcoxon matched pairs test and the Kruskal-Wallis ANOVA by ranks test were used.

The results of these nonparametric analyses are presented in Table 2. This analysis found of all the scales, the only one that provided a significant difference between the two groups was 'Body Focus' (Fig 3.). This question asked respondents to rank, on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all important and 5 = very important), the importance of the way they feel about their body to the way they feel about themselves in general. The exercising subjects reported that their body was more important to how they felt about themselves than the non-exercising subjects (chi-square= 7.0, p>0.008).

Table 2: *Wilcoxon matched pairs test for all scales comparing exercising and non-exercising groups.*

Scale	**Exercising** <u>Mean</u>	**Non-Ex.** <u>Mean</u>	**Kruslal-Wallis Rank Scores Chisquare**	**prob > Chisqu**
Body Description	3.22	3.25	0.02	0.87
Body Weight Satisfaction	3.37	2.97	2.96	0.09
Body Focus	3.42	2.75	6.99	0.09
Body Weight Discrepancy	-0.7	-0.4	0.89	0.34
Body Shape Discrepancy	.23	.53	1.66	0.21
Rosenberg's Self-esteem	4.3	3.62	3.67	0.06
Body Mass Index	24.2	24.85	1.33	0.24

Figure 5: Body Focus Histograms for exercising and non-exercising samples



non-exercising sample **exercising sample**

Reasons for Exercise in Exercisers and Non-exercisers.

To reiterate, higher scores on each scale were interpreted as more important reasons for exercise. As evident in table 3, there were no significant differences between the two samples on the Reasons for Exercise Inventory.

Table 3: *Reasons for exercise in exercising and non-exercising sample.*

	Exercising Sample		**Non-Exercising Sample**	
Reason for Exercise	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**
Weight	3.64	1.68	4.72	1.14
Fitness	4.20	1.02	4.22	1.18
Mood	4.78	1.10	4.01	1.23
Health	5.37	1.13	5.25	1.08
Attractive	5.32	1.19	4.93	1.40
Enjoyment	3.71	1.39	2.32	1.09
Tone	3.82	1.60	4.82	1.32

9.3 Correlations Among Variables

A number of very high correlations were found between several measures, using the Spearman Rho gamma coefficient. This set of analyses focused on the variables of interest: Body Satisfaction (Body Description, Body Shape Discrepancy, Body Focus), Weight dissatisfaction, Self-esteem. For clarity, each measure (and interrelationships) will be dealt with separately. Correlations for all measures are shown in Appendix 2.

Correlations: Exercising Group

Body Description (BD) and Body Shape Discrepancy (BSD)

In the exercising sample, there was a high negative correlation between Body Description and Body Shape Discrepancy (-0.55 $p<.001$). The more overweight respondents described themselves to be, the more likelihood of a negative body shape discrepancy (indicating wanting to have a smaller body). Accordingly, the more underweight subjects described themselves to be, the more likely they had a positive Body Weight Discrepancy (indicating that they wanted to have a bigger body)

Body Description (BD) and Body Mass Index (BMI)

In the exercising sample, there was a high positive correlation between how respondents described themselves and their Body Mass Index (0.64, $p<.001$). In other words, the heavier you were, the heavier you described yourself to be, and the lighter you were, the lighter you described yourself to be.

Body Weight Discrepancy (BWD) and Body Mass Index (BMI)

In the exercising sample there was a high negative correlation between Body Weight Discrepancy and Body Mass Index (-0.56, $p<.001$). This

indicated that the greater the Body Mass Index, the lower weight respondents wished to be. Conversely, the lower the Body Mass Index, the greater weight one wishes to be.

Body Shape Discrepancy (BSD) and Body Mass Index (BMI)

In the exercising sample there was a high negative correlation between Body Shape Discrepancy and Body Mass Index (-0.54, $p<.001$). This suggested that the more positive Body Shape Discrepancy (indicating wanting a larger body), the lower the Body Mass Index. Accordingly, the more negative Body Shape Discrepancy (wanting a smaller body), the higher the Body Mass Index.

Rosenberg's Self-esteem (RSE) and Body Weight Satisfaction (BWS)

In the exercising sample, there was a high positive correlation between Self-esteem and Body Weight Satisfaction (-0.45, $p<.001$). Respondents with higher self-esteem described themselves as more satisfied with their body at it's present weight.

Correlations: Non-exercising Group

Body Description (BD) and Body Shape Discrepancy (BSD)

In the non-exercising sample, there was a high negative correlation between Body Description and Body Shape Discrepancy (-0.55, $p<.001$). The more overweight respondents described themselves to be, the more likelihood of a negative body shape discrepancy (indicating wanting to have a smaller body). Accordingly, the more underweight subjects described themselves to be, the more likely they had a positive Body Weight Discrepancy (indicating that they wanted to have a bigger body)

Body Description (BD) and Body Mass Index (BMI)

In the non-exercising sample, there was a high positive correlation between how respondents described themselves and their Body Mass Index (0.64, $p<.001$). In other words, the heavier you were, the heavier you described yourself to be, and the lighter you were, the lighter you described yourself to be.

Body Weight Discrepancy (BWD) and Body Mass Index (BMI)

In the non-exercising sample there was a high negative correlation between Body Weight Discrepancy and Body Mass Index (-0.56, $p<.001$). This indicated that the greater the Body Mass Index, the lower weight respondents wished to be. Conversely, the lower the Body Mass Index, the greater weight one wishes to be.

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Rosenberg's Self-esteem (RSE) and Body Weight Satisfaction (BWS)

In the non-exercising sample, there was a high positive correlation between Self-esteem and Body Weight Satisfaction (-0.45 $p<.001$). Respondents with higher self-esteem described themselves as more satisfied with their body at it's present weight.

9.4 Summary

With both exercising and non-exercising samples considered:

1. The more overweight or underweight subjects described themselves to be, the more likelihood of body dissatisfaction, as indicated by a discrepancy between current and ideal body. Perceived bodyweight was related to actual Body Mass Index.

2. Body satisfaction but not weight satisfaction was related to higher self-esteem.

3. The lower or higher Body Mass Index, the more extreme body shape discrepancy.

4. The most important reasons for exercise were health and attractiveness.

Results in relation to hypotheses:

1. Body satisfaction was not significantly different between samples.

2. Self-esteem is positively correlated with body satisfaction in both samples.

3. Body focus is greater in exercisers than non-exercisers.

4. The most important reasons for exercise are for health and attractiveness in both exercisers and non-exercisers.

5. Weight satisfaction is not significantly different between samples.

Chapter 10

Discussion

This thesis has explored the body image concerns of men, in relation to their self-esteem and the role of exercise participation. The first part of this thesis was a qualitative study of exercising males' body image in relation to identity development, self-esteem. The second part was a quantitative study comparing the self-esteem, body satisfaction and exercise motivation in exercising and non-exercising males.

As this research has been theoretically driven by qualitative methodology incorporating a complementary quantitative component, important is the fitting of the results of both parts of this study into a cohesive and coherent outcome or theory. Firstly, for clarity, the results of the qualitative, then the quantitative study will be discussed separately. Both results will then be discussed in light of one another. Discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of methodological triangulation are presented at the end of this chapter.

The results of the qualitative analysis suggest that for men involved in sport and different forms of exercise, there exists a complex interrelationship between body image and self-esteem. Exercise and sport participation were also shown to be integral in the development of these men offering many positive experiences and social contacts as a result.

The thirty men interviewed offer varying perspectives on the nature and context of body image in males. A majority of the men described an elaborate and complex mix of variables that encouraged them to exercise. The subjects in this study described the ideal male body as the muscular mesomorph, the cultural exemplar of masculinity (Mishkind et al. 1986).

There exists two types of ideals, one 'realistic' ,the athletic muscular mesomorph, and one 'unrealistic' presented through the media, the hypermesomorph. Both ideals were identified by the respondents as the embodiment of masculinity. Display of masculine traits is also inherent in most elements of sporting behaviour.

The muscular mesomorph was described by the respondents as a disciplined, functional body. Through discipline, they thought it was fit and healthy, and also predictable in that "it can do all it wants to do". The extreme disciplined body was that of the hypermesomorph, which was criticised by respondents for its lack of functionality and application of strength. Instead it was seen as 'excessive' and 'over the top', because it was seen simply for show not function. The dominance of the athletic type ideal followed through in the results in both aspects of body dissatisfaction and types of exercise used to decrease body dissatisfaction.

The role of mass media in presenting a body image ideal and the method to obtain such an ideal were recognised by many of the respondents. Exercise was used by all of those interviewed as a form of maintaining or increasing self-esteem and body satisfaction. Respondents were aware of the motivations, consequences and potential benefits of exercise. Tied to many of their motivations was improvement or maintenance of their physical appearance. Specific forms of exercise were seen to be methods of strategic manipulation to increase sexual desirability or been seen and treated better by others.

Awareness of the unobtainability of the athletic mesomorph was expressed, but was still sought after by a majority of subjects. The dichotomy of the media's portrayal of an athlete, and the actual body of an athlete was expressed by not only by athletes, but by models whose exercise is directed towards the maintenance of such an image as part of their job. However, the

authenticity of the body was often questioned by asking whether building ones body at the gym is 'truly physical' or simply 'manufacturing a look'.

The results suggest, for the men interviewed, that exercise serves as a form of maintenance of public appearance to the detriment or addition to the private self. The individual is immersed in interdependence in which the body constructs the public self and the private self follows. The rewards in meeting societal demands by appearance only outweigh personal development. Thus, one's public self becomes one's private self. The loss of individuality and self-worth are no match to cultural acceptance. The male body is constructed and reconstructed in multiple contexts and time frames, sometimes important, sometimes not (Van der Velde, 1985).

Why should one's outer, physical (public) self be so tied to one's inner, psychological (private) self? Social scientists have given very different definitions to the concepts of "private" and "public." Exploration of these differences is beyond the scope of this discussion and has already been explored previously *(see "8.3 Private versus Public Dichotomy"(p98))*. However, the prevalent definition of "private" refers to mental events in one person that are inherently unobservable by another person, and "public" refers to the behaviours that others observe whether or not the individual is aware of being observed (Baumeister, 1986). The domain of physical appearance is an omnipresent feature of the self, always on display for others or for the self to observe and/or judge. In contrast, one's adequacy in such domains as scholastic or athletic competence, peer social acceptance, conduct, or morality is more context specific. Moreover, one has more control over whether, when, and how it will be revealed. However, with regard to physical appearance such control can be facilitated by exercise participation. For the men interviewed, exercise was a method to manage the projection, control and creation of ones' appearance.

The aetiology of body image dissatisfaction of males involves many cultural and societal forces including the mass media and fitness industries. These cultural agents perpetuate the image of a muscular and toned physical ideal even though various physiological systems may make such an ideal virtually impossible for most individuals (Brownell, 1991).

These results illustrate that increasingly men are encouraged to see their body image through the eyes of others. Exercise is the most common form to maintain this image. The formation of masculine identity becomes the image of strength rather than the application of strength. Health and fitness become a commodity sold with the promise of being more attractive to others, being "more masculine". The approach or interpretation of these descriptions and depictions of men's bodies in commercial and other public media will depend in large measure on whether one assumes a purely reductionist viewpoint, feminist or otherwise, which interprets such portrayals according to a single frame of reference, or alternatively whether one accepts contextual factors as defining or modifying one's perception of visual images. These contextual factors will include such variables as explicit or implicit intention, cultural conditioning and, perhaps, most importantly, the emotional, sexual and social values of the individual. Part of the problem of interpretation resides in the very metaphoric power of the body itself, its capacity to symbolise and incorporate the often ambiguous and even contradictory social messages which modern Western societies send to themselves in an attempt to establish their own meaning and identity.

The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to advertise, entertain, inform, and to inculcate individuals with values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society (Chomsky, 1994). Media in the form of cinema and television

took over the role from high art of transmitting the visual images which have reflected and helped create the cultural values of successive generations. Western culture inherited a tradition which has become deeply embedded in the popular unconscious (Dutton, 1995).

People are presented through visual and other media with a profusion of choices and desires directed at the maintenance, discipline, and modification of their bodies. The muscular male body is celebrated and the body becomes the primary expression of the self: "we are dominated by the desire to look young, healthy, beautiful, and to be exciting" (Williams, 1991, p. 38).

The qualitative part of this thesis has highlighted the role of exercise in the appearance and management of impressions of the public body image in a group of men. Within consumer culture, the public and private body image become conjoined: the prime purpose of the maintenance of the private body image becomes the enhancement of the appearance of the public body.

Quantitative Discussion

The quantitative part of this thesis compared the self-esteem, body satisfaction, and reasons for exercise in a sample of exercising and non-exercising men from the general population. The central focus of this study was the affective and cognitive component of these concerns.

The quantitative results of this study found that both exercising and non-exercising men experience similar degrees of body dissatisfaction. The more one experienced body shape or weight discrepancy, the more body dissatisfaction was experienced. The degree of ones' body satisfaction was related to ones' actual body mass index, indicating a relation between satisfaction with appearance and actual body shape and weight. In addition, self-esteem was related to body satisfaction but not weight satisfaction in both samples. This result is in agreement with Franzoi & Shields, (1984); Mable, Balance & Galagan, (1986); Silbersten et al, (1988) who reported that male body dissatisfaction is associated with low self-esteem.

Weight satisfaction was not significantly different between samples. Results show that 37% describe themselves as overweight, 47% describe themselves as underweight. Accordingly, a majority (75%) of men were either neutral or dissatisfied with their appearance at their current weight, the remaining 25% satisfied. This finding is consistent with previous research which has reported that approximately 80% of men are dissatisfied with their current weight which is split between those who want to lose and gain weight, while there is no doubt that the vast majority of women want to lose weight (Drewnowski & Yee, 1987; Connor-Greene, 1988; Silberstein, et al. 1988 Mintz and Betz, 1986; Davis, et al; 1991, Drewnowski & Yee, 1987). Being underweight appears to have a different meaning for the two sexes: underweight men seem unhappy with their body weight, whereas underweight women appear satisfied (Cash, Winstead, & Janda, 1986).

Actual and Perceived Weight

According to height/weight tables used for calculating 'healthy' Body Mass Index, the exercising and non-exercising samples were similar in actual body weight: in the exercising samples 18% were "overweight" (non-exercising 20%) and 2.5% were "underweight" (non-exercising 2.5%) (National Heart Foundation, 1989). However, self-description of weight revealed major differences. Generally the men described themselves as both more underweight (47%) and overweight (37%) than they actually were. These results are consistent with the findings of other research. For example Ritchie (1988) found that 26% of males described themselves as "underweight" and 29% as "overweight".

The finding of the large discrepancy between perceived and actual weight poses an interesting question. Because a majority of men described themselves as underweight it could be the case that the term "underweight" not in the physical health sense but more in a 'desirable shape' way. So while it might be the case they are physically healthy, many do not seem at all comfortable with their weight, shape or bodies.

Perceived and Ideal Body Shape

A large number (50%) of subjects chose their ideal body as a full chested, thin waisted figure. The remainder (48%) chose a figure one size larger or smaller (see fig. 4) than their current body shape. This figure is the athletic muscular mesomorph, as described by the majority (80%) of the exercising respondents interviewed as the ideal. A majority (55%) of subjects preferred a larger body size to their current body size whereas (25%) preferred a smaller body size. In those interviewed, 65% expressed wishing to have a larger body size or gain weight. Accordingly 35% wished to lose weight and gain muscle definition. Common to both groups was wishing to

change specific body parts. For example: weight gain in specific areas such as chest and shoulders or weight loss in specific areas (stomach, waist).

These results are perhaps related to the findings that male body dissatisfaction is not general and diffuse but highly specific and differentiated. Men consistently express their greatest dissatisfaction toward chest, weight, and waist (McDonald and Thompson 1992; Silberstein et al. 1988; Franzoi and Shields, 1984; Cash et al., 1986; Allison, 1994; Mishkind et al.,1986).

Weight and Body Dissatisfaction

The more overweight or underweight subjects described themselves to be, the more likelihood of body dissatisfaction, as indicated by a discrepancy between current and ideal body. The reflection of the accuracy of these descriptions was that perceived bodyweight was correlated with actual Body Mass Index. Accordingly the lower or higher Body Mass Index, the more extreme body shape discrepancy. The more one's current body shape matched their ideal the more satisfied they were with self-described weight.

These results confirm the findings of Davis, et al; (1991), Drewnowski & Yee, (1987); Silberstein et al., (1988) (McCauley, et al., (1988); Mintz and Betz, (1986) that for males, an equal number want to lose and gain weight. Cash, Winstead, & Janda, (1986) found that underweight appears to have a different meaning for the two sexes: underweight men seem unhappy with their body weight, whereas underweight women appear satisfied. Given that the majority described themselves as underweight and were dissatisfied with their weight this result is in agreement with these findings.

Self-Esteem

Self-esteem was positively correlated with body satisfaction in both samples. Betz (1986) found that for both men and women, satisfaction with one's body was positively correlated with social self-esteem and negatively correlated with depression-proneness. As a result of the complex but robust relationship between body satisfaction and self-esteem, research has progressed to examine the link between appearance and self-esteem. That is, does body satisfaction determine self-esteem, or conversely does self-esteem determine body satisfaction? Research in this area has shown that those who report their body satisfaction as determining their self-esteem also report they are more concerned with their appearance, compared to those whose self-esteem precedes body satisfaction (Harter & Waters, 1991; Zumpf & Harter, 1989).

The impact on men's self-esteem, of deviating from the ideal body size, suggests that body shape and weight to a lesser degree may be a variable that is central to men's sense of self. Development of the self is intimately tied to competence in ones' chosen interests and approval from others. Based on empirical research and the opinions of the men interviewed, the sex-role stereotype and societies' cultural values choose what your interests will be; sports, competition, achievement. The physical appearance of oneself should reflect the ability to meet the demands of competition, and being able to achieve; the muscular mesomorph. This body gives us approval from others in the form of social advantages: sexual desirability and acceptability in peer groups *(see "8.4 Exercise and the Social Self" (p103))*. It also embodies the traits inherent in masculinity; power, strength, endurance. Without it, one may feel a failure for not embodying masculine ideals (Dutton, 1995).

Reasons for Exercise

Results showed the most important reasons for exercise were for health and attractiveness in both exercising and non-exercising samples. This is in agreement with the findings of Drewnowski and Yee, (1987); Drewnowski et al, (1995); Silberstein et al.(1988) and Koslow (1988) who found males are equally as interested or more interested in aesthetic benefits as compared to health benefits from exercise participation. Clearly, understanding the motives for exercising and the psychological differences between exercisers may highlight the relation between exercise participation and body satisfaction. Important is the identification of individuals whose exercise motivations are determined by reasons of appearance as opposed to health (Brownell, 1991). Research suggests that in both genders those who exercise for appearance are more likely to have an eating disturbance and body dissatisfaction. Exercising for fitness and health is not correlated with body dissatisfaction and is related to higher self-esteem, again for both genders (McDonald & Thompson, 1992; Davis, Elliott, Dionne, & Mitchell, 1991; Davis & Cowles, 1991; Silberstein et al., 1988; Drewnowski & Yee, 1987).

Franco, Tamburrino, Carroll & Bernal (1988) propose exercise in moderation is protective, in excess it increases 'narcissistic investment of the body' and promotes the tendency to develop an eating disorder in both genders. Identification of motivations for exercise may provide an indicator for those at risk for developing an eating disorder or maintaining body image disturbance. For example, recent research has found that weight, diet preoccupation and physical activity levels were positively correlated among exercising women (Davis & Dionne, 1990; Davis, Fox, Cowles, Hastings & Schwass, 1990).

Clearly identification of reasons for exercising can determine the effect on self-esteem and body image satisfaction. The directionality of the

relation between self-esteem and body image should also be considered in further research. Whether self-esteem affects body satisfaction or conversely if body satisfaction effects self-esteem is not clear. What is clear is that males do experience body dissatisfaction. Whether methods used to reduce this dissatisfaction may actually increase body focus (through promoting the body as an important source of self-esteem) is yet to be ascertained.

One unexpected result was that exercise participation was not associated with body satisfaction. This may be a result of the small sample size and lack of normal distribution. This outcome is in contrast with previous research in which exercising men report significantly less body dissatisfaction than those who do not (Franzoi & Shields; 1984, Davis, Elliot, Dionne, & Mitchell, 1991; Drewnowski, Kurth and Krahn; 1994). Higher frequencies of exercise have been associated with greater body satisfaction (Wilkins, Boland, & Albinson, 1991; Joesting, 1981; Joesting & Clance, 1979), and programs of physical activity have led to more positive feelings toward one's body (McGlenn, 1980; Tucker, 1982).

Body Focus

The measure "body focus" asked how important their body was to each subject to how they felt about themselves. Important in the discussion of these results is the directionality of body focus and exercise behaviour. From the results it is difficult to determine whether exercise behaviour causes body focus or alternatively, whether body focus facilitates exercise participation. Research suggests that exercise can cause more concern and emphasis on one's body, especially with regard to performance in sport, where the body is the centre. Athletes make a tremendous psychological and physical investment in their body form and function in order to accomplish important goals. As Andersen (1990) states: "In both cases, the body is the essential vehicle for achieving something important of high and personal

value. The body is the source of glory or dishonour, of self-satisfaction or self-rejection, and carries in many ways, even if inappropriately, the burden of the athletes' whole sense of self-esteem and worthwhileness." (p.174).

These findings suggest that exercise participation, may be ineffective in reducing total body dissatisfaction, which in part is focused upon shape rather than size. Instead exercise has the effect of increasing focus on ones' body and as a result may increase body dissatisfaction as a result of this focus. Given the predominant amount of body dissatisfaction expressed by both exercising and non-exercising subjects, and the body focus expressed by exercising subjects, exercise may be being used to maintain or improve their body satisfaction and consequently self-esteem. Research has suggested that exercise is the most widely used method to decrease body dissatisfaction, and that associated with exercise participation is heightened self-esteem. As Fisher (1986) states: "Muscular movement in the form of athletic activity is one of the prime approaches to shaping the body to an idealised image" (p.139). Although there was no significant difference in self-esteem between samples of exercisers and non-exercisers, exercise for some may represent an attempt to reduce body dissatisfaction, and accordingly facilitate an increase body focus. As Mishkind et al. (1986) have suggested, men, like women, who attempt to decrease body dissatisfaction by exercising will experience heightened attentiveness to and focus on their body.

10.1 Conclusions

The findings in the present and previous research confirm then that body image issues, concerns, problems and potential problems are no longer (if they ever were) largely the preserve of women. Men too are affected by and aware of our society's and culture's expectation that we should appear a certain way physically. With our present "societal preference" of women striving to attain or remain at what is generally an unrealistically thin 'ideal' and women's tendency to overestimate their body size/weight it is not surprising that there are so many women constantly dissatisfied with their bodies. The pressures and associated problems that women and men are subject to do not appear to be decreasing. This discussion and research does not intend to in any way belittle the importance of the problems that women face in our society presently with respect to their body image (whether they be with regard to exercise, dietary habits, well-being or whatever) but rather it has sought to illustrate and add to the recognition that, increasingly, many men too face similar problems and such men may also be in assistance and that the whole area needs to be demystified and destigmatised. We can only hope that better understanding of the associated mechanisms and causes in the case of both sexes will lead to a lessening of the discomfort and anguish that such problems can cause.

For the men in this study, the presentation of an ideal body, and the method to obtain it generate an internal conflict towards exercise. The athletic ideal is pervasive and persuasive. Yet, subjects understood this ideal to be a sham. Men who narcissistically work towards the ideal are ostracised and yet, if successful, simultaneously rewarded publicly. This public validation also positively effect their private sense of self. These are clearly complicated and intimately entwined concepts.

The result of the presentation of an ideal for males is the development of self-monitoring, a new self-awareness that generated more dissatisfaction as men look at themselves and their bodies as problems to be fixed, priming men to be consumers of the fitness industry. This concept has parallels in literature on women and their bodily dissatisfactions. The results from this study show that men are also susceptible to the powerful cultural mandates that keep individuals continually dissatisfied with themselves and holding themselves responsible for not meeting recognised unrealistic standards.

In Western culture, the reason the masculine ideal matters so much has never been addressed. Exploring this issue, Gilmore (1994) describes the male body as a 'cultural crucible'. He discusses the long Western tradition merging of aesthetics and ethics, stretching back to Plato's belief that the beautiful is good (Dion, Berschied, & Walster, 1972), and that in particular, masculine power is the emblem of Western capitalist culture. In essence, masculinity has become apotheosis of Western national identity, as Gilmore (1994) states :

> "This moral primacy of male beauty, this exaltation of maleness as both heroic and beautiful places a powerful stress on males. The erotic and social appeal of a virile, handsome, muscular man successfully accomplishing some task is very strong. It's what our culture prizes above all. Men experience deep psychic terror of failing literally to embody national ideals."

Shilling (1991) offers the premise that gendered bodies are constructed through social relations and also contribute to the construction of those relations. That is, the muscular male body is both a gendered social construction and a symbol of gender ideology. Thus the body as cultural text is inscribed with gender meanings, it is "a vehicle of socialisation" (Howg,

1989, p.118). As has been mentioned, the very nature of sport itself, which has been institutionalised into 'an instrument of white male priorities' which have 'marginalised, trivialised, excluded and alienated women'. (Thompson, 1989). The muscular mesomorph within masculinity becomes the symbol of male power above other males, the "man among men".

Achievement, strength, self-control are valued traits in our society, the ideal male body is the embodiment of these traits. With appearance being taken as a reflex of the self the penalties of bodily neglect are a lowering of one's acceptability as a person, as well as an indication of laziness, low self-esteem and even moral failure (Barsky, 1988). As Mishkind et al. (1986) point out, *looking* healthy is the external manifestation of being healthy, and so appearance becomes a symbol of the extent to which one has achieved this state. Therefore, having the 'right' body may be important for health reasons, but perhaps what is more important is what the perfect body symbolises regarding personal attributes and achievements.

As many of the subjects mentioned, the 'healthy' body image and what it signifies, rather than the body itself, have become consumable commodities. The importance of the body is not what it does, but what it is worth, it's exchange-value to others (Featherstone, 1984). The distinction is blurred between what is truly physical, the body as a result of sport participation and what is constructed physically, the body manufactured for 'look'. What is important is measuring up to the public body ideal, which becomes an indication and reflection of inner qualities (Baumeister, 1986). Yet, the nebulous concepts of personality, self-esteem and identity are as different as the physical form they occupy. The effort and cost incurred in attempting to 'measure up', to increase body satisfaction, may be these very things that make us individuals: our physical form and our psychological identity.

While male awareness of and emphasis on body-image issues may not go back, historically, as far as do issues relating to women, the issues and problems identified by the subjects are just as real and possibly as equally distressing. In fact whether women in general are more dissatisfied with their bodies or vice versa or even if the level of dissatisfaction is approximately equal is, with respect to the result of this research, largely academic. Rather, the purpose of this research has been to illustrate that many men do hold a very real and serious antipathy towards their bodies. This research then is an addition to the constantly developing and expanding quantity of work that looks at men's body-image issues by presenting and analysing some experiences that men have had with regard to these issues.

10.2 Further Recommendations

Undoubtedly the types of sociocultural pressures on people as a result of the media and fashion fitness industries do play a role in contril ıting to distortions in body image and in the onset of eating disorders, frustration, distress and psychological ill health. However, it is also clear that this is not the sole cause, since every Western male exposed to the same images and influences. Yet not all men develop these 'problems' as seen by the fact that not all men exhibit such feelings and grievances. This fact further reflects the complexity of the relationship of the issues in question, and the importance of studying such relationships and people's experiences from many different angles since one may not do it or them justice.

Further research could also look at the role of sport participation in male identity development. The role of sport in male development is clearly an important "masculizing" practice. It is important socially and serves the development of self-esteem as well, in that ones' competence and

self-definition may be based around bodily performance and appearance. Clearly, for an athlete, the body is central to their goals, self-esteem and purpose, so its appearance will be reflective of its function. For someone seeking health gains, exercise may serve as preventative and provide maintenance of the body, and changes in fitness and appearance may be reflective of this.

The experiences of the men interviewed highlighted some the different stages of development when the body is more or less important. Further research could look at issues such as what stage do the individual's intentions and needs with regard to the body change. That is, looking retrospectively at when the need to feel good in one's body changed into a need for ones body to look good. Such research may pinpoint the most influential aspects of human development. For example, the very physical nature of sport and the fundamental link between social power and physical force deserves more research attention, especially in New Zealand culture. Sport is a major arena in which physical force and toughness are woven into hegemonic masculinity and the resultant ideology transmitted. In addition, research is needed across different age groups as obviously all ages of men encounter the same societal and cultural pressures to an ideal. Other beneficial and useful future research could look at the way Maori men, Polynesian men and men originating from other cultures perceive issues relevant to their body image and how Western societies ideal affects them.

The male body itself is seen at its most symbolically identifiable when characterised by such visual images of mesomorph and developed muscularity. As much as the clothes we wear, the kind of body we possess is a determining element of our social existence. The methods presented to transform the body into a more desirable self are more important than the actual benefits of these methods, for example, exercise.

Perhaps the aim of any future research should be to discover the most influential aspects of the many pressures our societies and culture contribute to feelings of inadequacy and dissatisfaction so that men (and people in general) can be educated and made aware of their harmful effects, this would be especially desirable for 'at risk' groups. In addition research that attempts to specifically identify which men constitute these at risk groups would yield information.

The psychosocial aspects of appearance, body shape in males and self-esteem and how each relates to all aspects of exercise deserves much more detailed attention. Our opinion of our bodies and how we behave reflects to a large extent, social processes. Body image is relevant to exercise participation, and the topic is broad, complex and critically important.

10.3 Postscript: A Methodological Evaluation

Important to the discussion of this thesis is a form of reflexive analysis in the form of a methodological evaluation. Grounding meaning in the lives of real people, letting their words explain their experience of the larger structure illuminates the relationships between images and the resources upon which individuals draw. The goal in qualitative research is to add to knowledge, not to pass judgement on a setting. The worth of a study is the degree to which it generates theory, description, or understanding as a result of objective study of the subjective states of the subjects. In gaining better understanding of human behaviour and experience, more of a grasp of the processes by which people construct meaning and to describe what those meanings are. Empirical observation is used because it is with concrete incidents of human behaviour that research can analyse more clearly and deeply the human condition.

In this thesis, triangulation enabled the exploration of the cultural, psychological, and behavioural dimensions of the male body. Given the complexity of the body image, it was considered that simply as a reflection of such complexity, the male body could not simply be expressed on a level of empirical description. Not that this is insufficient, but that methodology in every form has its' strengths and weaknesses.

The main strength of the qualitative approach has been its ability to theorise relations between social processes and individual subjectivity. Language based research is regarded as the source of this analysis that draws on several variations of linguistic philosophy, poststructuralism in particular criticises individual-society dualism and thus provides a theorisation of social processes that are constitutive elements of discursive practices rather than external factors that influence behaviour.

However, while the resulting account may accurately reflect the construct of body image as it exists in a certain population, it conceivably ends in a theory that is somewhat insular in accuracy and theoretical relevance. The resulting theory may not have a great deal of universal applicability, and insular theories may not carry much credence in psychological literature.

The nature of qualitative methods is that they view experiences from the perspective of those involved and attempt to understand why individuals react or behave as they do. They then give more attention to the subjective aspects of human experience and behaviour. In short, qualitative research takes a more natural approach to the resolution of research problem. Such methodology tries to discover issues and areas for additional research. Inherent in the results of such research are the issues of credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability, as opposed to issues of generalisability and replication.

The quantitative part of this thesis was a pilot study. It is descriptive and does not purport to make conclusive statements regarding the role of exercise in self-esteem and body satisfaction in males. Instead it provides information on the body image concerns and potential effects on self-esteem and describes the reasons for exercise in a group of normal men. These preliminary results must be viewed with caution because of correlational and skewed nature of the data and the small sample size. In the future, it would be advisable to validate these results with additional measures and a broader population.

Combining methodologies, as has been attempted here, is based on the advocacy of 'triangulation'. While there is a certain commonsense attraction to using a complex research design to explore under-researched and complex research problems, the idea that one will automatically, by virtue of a multi-method approach, collect data that is more valid cannot be supported. As Fielding and Fielding (1986) have pointed out the assumption that the use of a combination of methods will provide an 'objective' truth is misconceived:

> "Theoretical triangulation does not necessarily reduce bias, nor does methodological necessarily increase validity. Theories are generally the product of quite different traditions, so when they get combined one may get a fuller picture, but not a more 'objective' one. Similarly, different methods have emerged as a product of different theoretical traditions, and therefore combining them can add range and depth, but not accuracy." (Fielding and Fielding, 1986: 33).

However, voicing reservations about the positivist assumptions underlying triangulation does not imply that there are no advantages to be gained by employing more than one method of data collection. In the case of body image in males, clearly in order to understand the dynamics of the

variables concerned it is necessary to have both quantitative and qualitative data. Clearly a larger quantitative component is required to investigate some of the themes raised in the qualitative study.

Methodological triangulation as in the form used here does not claim to provide a larger more comprehensive picture of the understanding of male body image. Instead it provides, in the final analysis, a greater awareness of the gaps in the present understanding of this topic.

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Appendix#1

1.1 Interview Schedule

Firstly, I'd like to ask you questions about exercise or sport and your involvement in it.

- Are you or have you been involved in sport competitively?
- Thinking back, when did you first become involved in sport, or exercise regularly (i.e..more days per week than not)
- Specific age?
- how often did you exercise a week?
- How is it of value to you?
- Why is it of importance to you?
- When is it not of importance to you?
- What do you think your motivations or reasons for continuing to, or beginning to exercise/ involve yourself in sport?
- In relation to your particpation in sport /exercise, did your eating patterns change at all? how?
- How have you/ do you feel when you cannot exercise?
- In relation to your answers, have you ever exercised to control weight, to burn off calories, or to change your body's shape?

- Have you ever been injured and been unable to participate in your sport/exercise?
- What was the effect on you?
- What were your thoughts then?

Eating attitudes:
Now I'd like to ask you questions about your eating attitudes/behaviour
Firstly, have you ever resticted food intake because of weight concerns?
When do you not restrict food intake?
>If yes: what age did you first do this? when did you last do this?
Have you ever had an eating binge, that is, when you ate an unusually large amount of food in a short time?

- What is a binge? how do you define a binge?
- subjective binge- small normal amount of food
- objective binge -clearly in excess of normal

If yes,

- During these binges, did you fell your eating was out of control?
- How do you define 'control'?
- Did you do things to counteract the binges?

After these binges, did you feel more concerned about your weight and body shape than usual?
What were your thoughts? before? afterwards?

FAMILY / FRIENDS
Do others express an opinion about your participation in exercise/sport ?
What sort of opinion?
How does this make you feel?
Do others express an opinion about your eating behaviour [in social situations]
Do you have any thoughts about these opinions?
Have others ever given opinion about your body size/shape?
What do you think when they say this? is it important?
What do you do?
Could you describe your /the ideal male body to me?
Is their anything I have not asked that youd like to discuss?

1.2 Information and Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

I N F O R M A T I O N

You are invited to participate as a subject in the research project:
'Body Image and Eating Behaviour of Males Involved in Sport'

The aim of this project is to explore the relationship between exercise involvement, body image and eating behaviour/ attitudes in males. Your involvement in this project will firstly involve discussing and answering some questions. These will be about your own thoughts and feelings regarding your involvement in exercise and associated eating behaviour. These questions will be asked in a one-hour semi-structured interview.

The main areas that these questions will seek to explore are:

- involvement in sport or regular exercise and your reasons for such participation
- eating attitudes with regard to your history of eating behaviour
- others' opinions of your eating behaviour and participation in sport/exercise, and your thoughts on these opinions
- others' and your own opinion about your body image

Following the interview, you will be invited to participate in a computer program which will involve selecting male figures and comparing them. The results of the project may be published, but you may be assured of the complete confidentiality of data gathered in this investigation: the identity of participants will not be made public without their consent. To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all transcripts will be coded and will not have the actual identity of the participant on them. Only the researcher will have access to this information.
The project is being carried out under the direction of Adrian Randal, who can be contacted at phone no. 3655398, or at ext. 7192 at the University. He will be pleased to discuss any concerns you may have about participation in the project. As well, he will direct you to appropriate help, professional or otherwise, if there are any issues or concerns raised for you by the subject matter (questions/discussion) in this research.

The project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee.

1.3 Demographic Questionnaire

Background Information about yourself

Please write the number corresponding to your answer in the box alongside each question.

1. Ethnicity

New Zealander	1
New Zealand Maori	2
Samoan	3
Cook Island	4
Other(such as Dutch, Tongan) please state	5

2. Marital Status

Never married	1
Married(incl. de facto)	2
Separated	3
Divorced	4
Widowed	5

3.Age (in years).....

4. Highest Educational Qualification

Fifth form certificate in one or more subjects	1
Sixth form certificate in one or more subjects	2
Higher school certificate or university entrance	3
University Bursary or Scholarship	4
New Zealand Certificate or Diploma	5
University Degree or Diploma	6
Postgraduate Degree or Diploma	7

4.a What is your income per annum?

$5000-10,000	1
$10,000-15,000	2
$15,000-20,000	3
$20,000-25,000	4
$25,000-30,000	5
$30,000+	6

5. Your present **weight** _____ **Height** _____

6. Describe your present weight (circle one)

very overweight	slightly overweight	about average	slightly underweight	very underweight

7. How much would you really like to weigh?_____

8. How do you feel about the way you look at your present weight?

(circle one)

Completely Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied

8.a What is the sport or exercise you are most involved in?

_____

b. How often do you engage in this activity?

Activity (sport or exercise)	Frequency (daily, weekly)	Duration (minutes,hours)

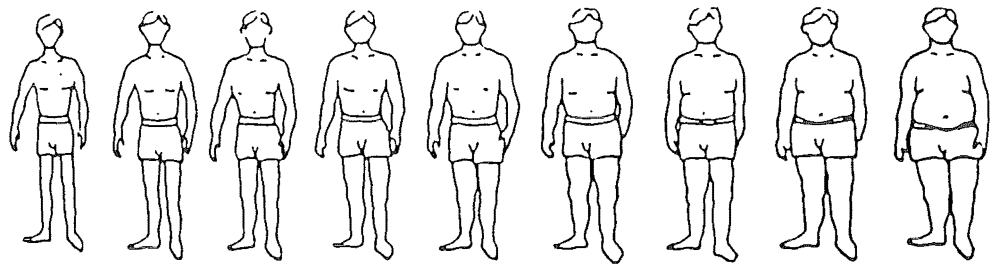
9. What other sports/exercise are you involved in?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

10. How important is how you **feel about your body** to the way you **feel about yourself generally?**:

1	2	3	4	5
not at all important		moderately important		very important

1.4 Ideal/current body shape



ID# ☐☐☐

Please pick the silhouettes which **BEST** answer the following questions, even if they are not a perfect match.

1. Please put a **circle** around the silhouette which you consider **MOST LIKE** your own body.
2. Please put a tick (✓) above the head of the silhouette you consider to be the closest to **YOUR** ideal body shape.
3. Please underline (___) the silhouette you consider to be **MOST LIKE** the man in the picture.

1.5 Reasons for Exercise Inventory

People exercise for a variety of reasons. When people are asked why they exercise, their answers are sometimes based on the reasons *actually* have for exercising. What we want to know are the reasons they *should* have for exercising. Please respond to the questions imagining you are a regular exerciser .

To what extent is each of the following an important reason you would have for exercising?

Use the scale below, ranging from 1 to 7, in giving your answers.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

not at all important **moderately important** **extremely important**

1.to socialize with friends

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. to improve my flexibility

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. to improve my mood

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. to improve my muscle tone

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. to be slim

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. to improve my endurance, stamina

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

not at all important **moderately important** **extremely important**

7. to improve my strength

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. to cope with sadness, depression

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9.to improve my cardiovascular fitness

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10.to increase my energy level

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. to maintain my current weight

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12.to cope with stress, anxiety

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. to improve my overall health

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. to alter a specific area of my body

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
not at all important			**moderately important**			**extremely important**

15. to maintain my physical well-being

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. to improve my appearance

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. to lose weight

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18.to increase my resistance to illness and disease

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. to meet new people

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. to be attractive to the opposite sex

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

21. to have fun

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

not at all important **moderately important** **extremely important**

22. redistribute my weight

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. to improve my overall body shape

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

24. to be sexually desirable

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1.6 Ses scale

Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4

---

(1) **On the whole, I am satisfied with myself**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(2) **At times I think I am no good at all**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(3) **I feel that I have a number of good qualities**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(4) **I am able to do things as well as most other people**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(5) **I feel I do not have much to be proud of**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(6) **I certainly feel useless at times**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(7) **I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal with others**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(8) **I wish I could have more respect for myself**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(9) **All in all, I am inclined to feel I am a failure**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

(10) **I take a positive attitude toward myself**

1 Strongly agree | 2 Agree | 3 Disagree | 4 Strongly disagree

1.7 Ethics Approval

University of Canterbury Private Bag 4800
Christchurch New Zealand
Telephone: 03-366 7001
Fax: 03-364 2999

10 May 1995

Mr A Randall
C/- Dr C Bulik
Department of Psychology
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Mr Randall

Thank you for providing your revised Information Sheet and Interview Schedule.

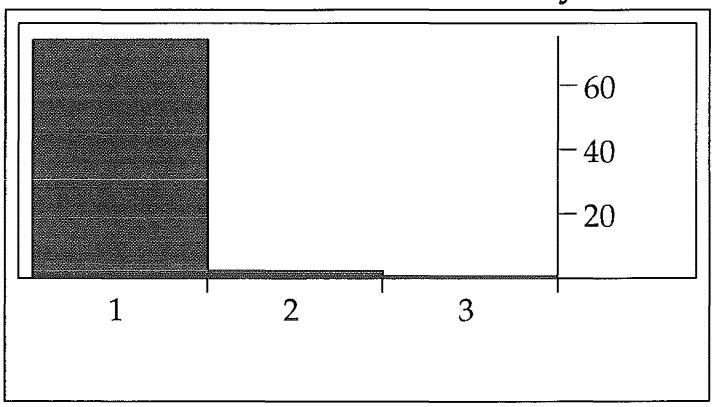
The Human Ethics Committee has approved your research proposal **"Body Image and Eating Behaviour of Males Involved in Sport"**.

Yours sincerely

J A Cockle
Secretary

Appendix#2
Descriptive Demographics for both Samples

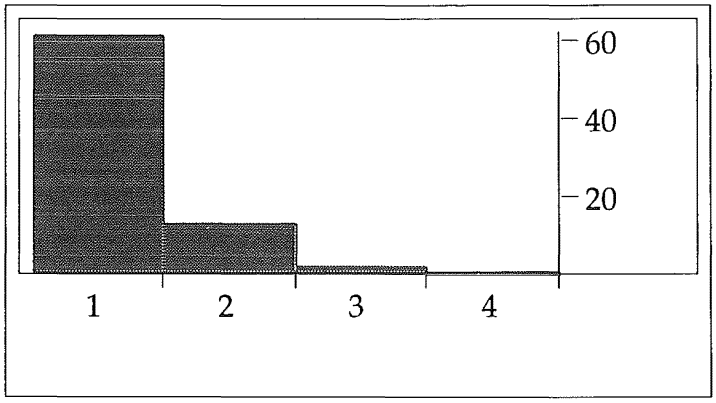
2.1 Ethnincity



Legend **Percentage**

1 New Zealander.....92.5%
2 New Zealand Maori..... 5.0%
3 Samoan.....2.5%

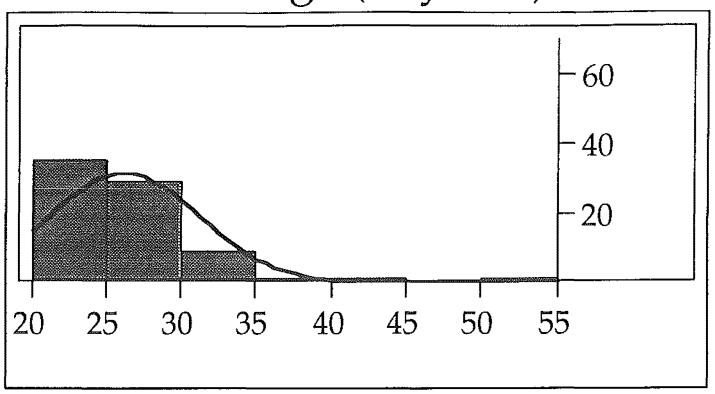
2.2 Marital Status



Legend

1 Never married..... 77.5%
2 Married(incl. de facto)..... 17.5%
3 Separated..... 03.7%
4 Divorced..... 1.2%
5 Widowed.....

2.3 Age (in years)

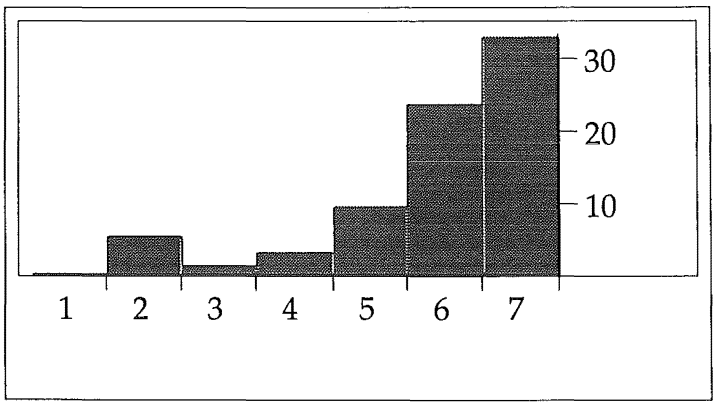


Age	Count	Percentage
20	1	1.25
21	5	6.25
22	11	13.75
23	14	17.5
24	5	6.25
25	6	7.5
26	12	15
27	1	1.25
28	4	5
29	7	8.75
31	4	5
32	4	5
33	2	2.5
37	2	2.5
41	1	1.25
51	1	1.25

Quantiles

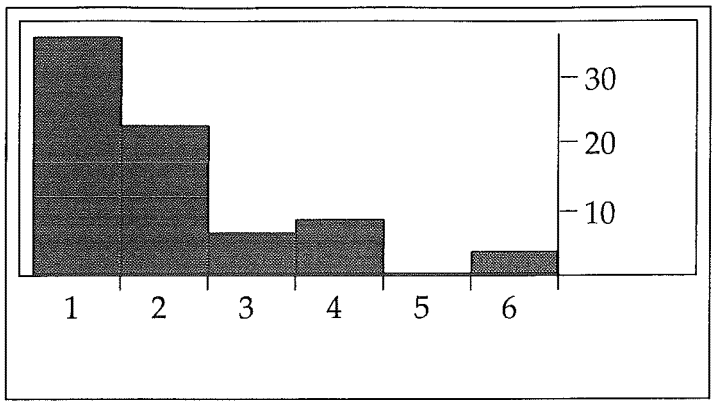
maximum	100.0%	51
quartile	75.0%	29
median	50.0%	25
quartile	25.0%	23
minimum	0.0%	20

2.4 Highest Educational Qualification



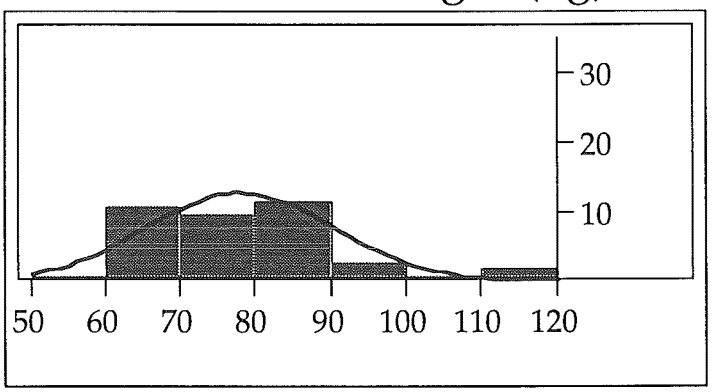
	Legend	Percentage
1	Fifth form certificate in one or more subjects.....	12.5%
2	Sixth form certificate in one or more subjects...	7.5%
3	Higher school certificate or university entrance..	2.5%
4	University Bursary or Scholarship.....	5%
5	New Zealand Certificate or Diploma.....	12.5%
6	University Degree or Diploma.....	30%
7	Postgraduate Degree or Diploma.....	41.25%

2.5 Income per annum



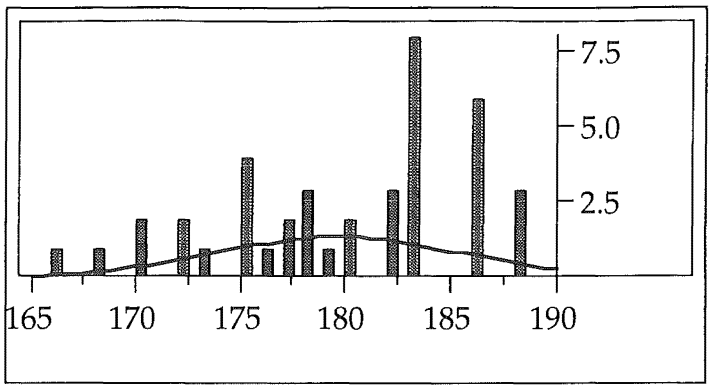
Legend		Percentages
$5000-10,000	1	45%
$10,000-15,000	2	28.7%
$15,000-20,000	3	8.7%
$20,000-25,000	4	11.2%
$25,000-30,000	5	1.2%
$30,000+	6	5%

2.6 Present weight (kg)



Mean 77.9kg
Std Dev 12.4kg

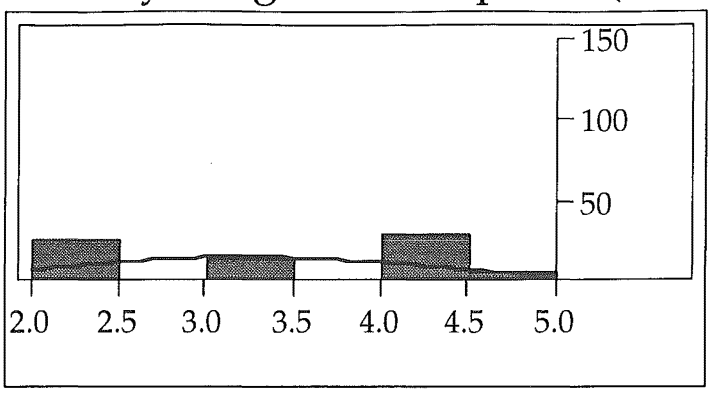
2.7 Height Distribution



maximum 188.00
Mean 179.6000

Level	Count	PERCENTAGE(%)
166	1	2.5
168	1	2.5
170	2	5.0
172	2	5.0
173	1	2.5
175	4	10.
176	1	2.5
177	2	5.0
178	3	7.5
179	1	2.5
180	2	5.0
182	3	7.5
183	8	20
186	6	15.
188	3	7.5
Total	80	

2.8 BodyWeight Description (Bwd)



6. "Describe your present weight (circle one)"

1	2	3	4	5
very overweight	slightly overweight	about average	slightly underweight	very underweight

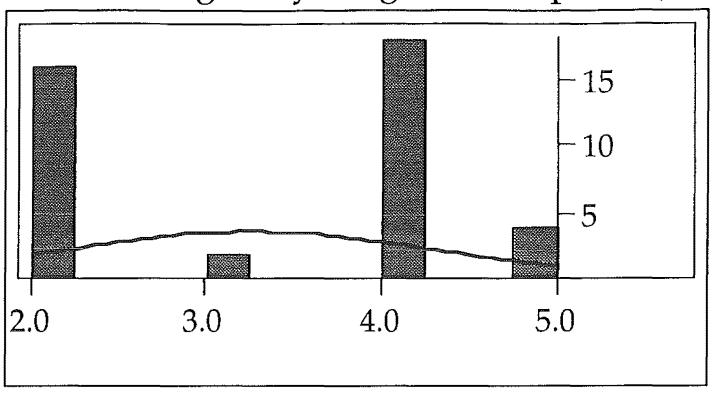
Frequencies

Description	Count	Percentage
2	27	33.75%
3	15	18.75%
4	30	37.50%
5	8	10.00%
Total	80	

Moments

Mean	3.23750
Std Dev	1.03415

Non-exercising:BodyWeight Description (Bwd)



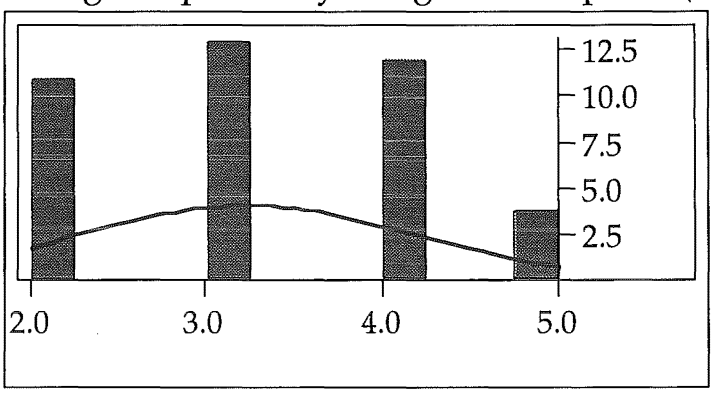
Quantiles

Level	Count	Probability(%)
2	16	40
3	2	05
4	18	45
5	4	10

Moments

Mean	3.25000
Std Dev	1.10361
Std Err Mean	0.17450
upper 95% Mean	3.60295
lower 95% Mean	2.89705

Exercising sample: Body Weight Description (Bwd)



Quantiles

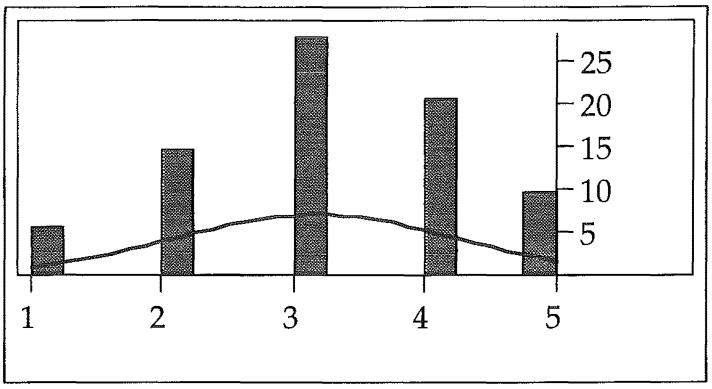
Level	*Count*	*Percentage (%)*
2	11	27.5
3	13	32.5
4	12	30.0
5	4	10.0

maximum	100.0%	5.0000
median	50.0%	3.0000
minimum	0.0%	2.0000
Mean	3.22500	
Std Dev	0.97369	
Std Err Mean	0.15395	
upper 95% Mean		3.53640
lower 95% Mean		2.91360

2.9 Body Weight Satisfaction (BWS)

"How do you feel about the way you look at your present weight?"

Both samples



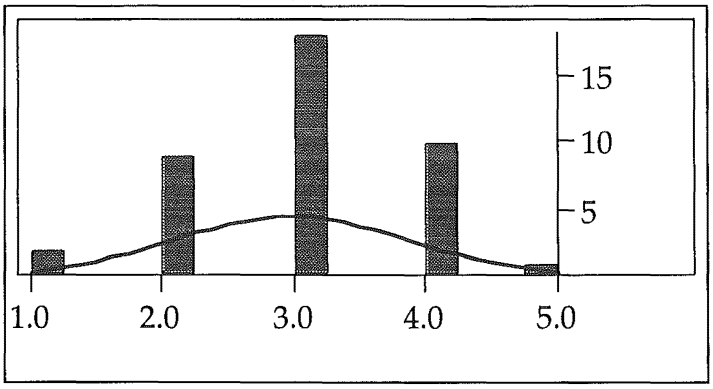
1	2	3	4	5
Completely Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied

Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentages
1	6	7.5%
2	15	18.7%
3	28	35%
4	21	26.2%
5	10	12.5%

Mean	3.17500
Std Dev	1.11122

Non-exercising: Body Weight Satisfaction (BWS)



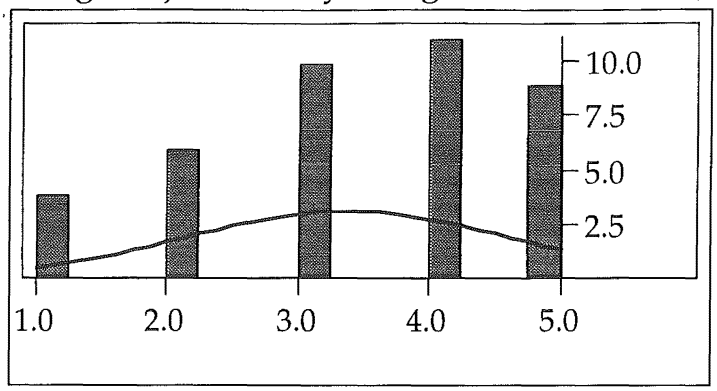
Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentages
1	2	5.0%
2	9	22.5%
3	18	45.0%
4	10	25.0%
5	1	02.5%

Moments

Mean	2.97500
Std Dev	0.89120
Std Err Mean	0.14091
upper 95% Mean	3.26002
lower 95% Mean	2.68998

Exercising subjects: Body Weight Satisfaction (BWS).



Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage (%)
1	4	10.0
2	6	15.0
3	10	25.0
4	11	27.5
5	9	22.5
Total	40	

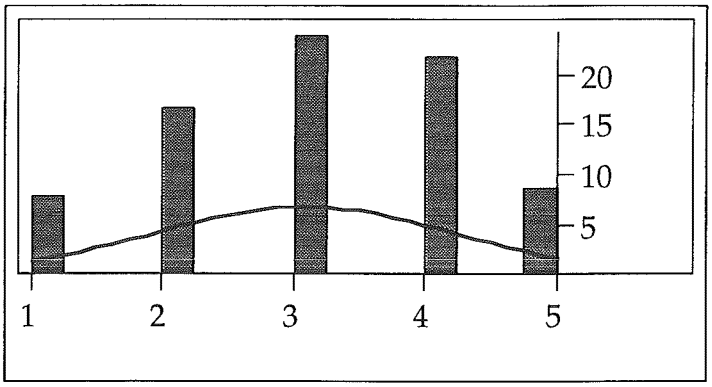
Moments

Mean	3.37500
Std Dev	1.27475
Std Err Mean	0.20156
upper 95% Mean	3.78268
lower 95% Mean	2.96732

2.10 Body Focus

"How important is how you **feel about your body** to the way you **feel about yourself generally?"**

Distribution of both samples merged



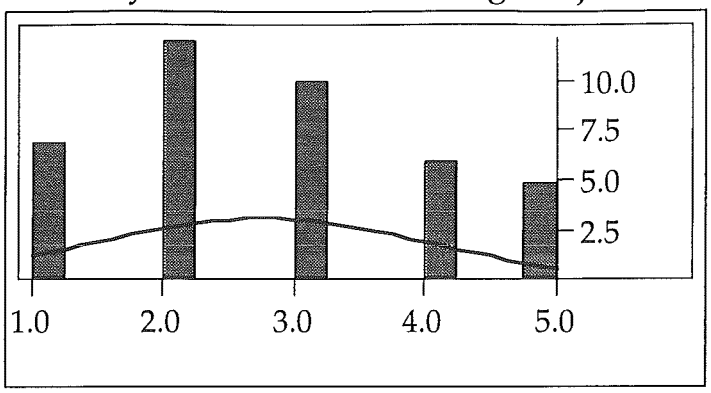
1	2	3	4	5
not at all important		moderately important		very important

Level	Count	Percentage
1	8	10%
2	17	21.2%
3	24	30.0%
4	22	27.5%
5	9	11.2%

Moments

Mean	**3.08750**
Std Dev	**1.16046**
Std Err Mean	**0.12974**
upper 95% Mean	**3.34575**
lower 95% Mean	**2.82925**

Body Focus:non-exercising subjects



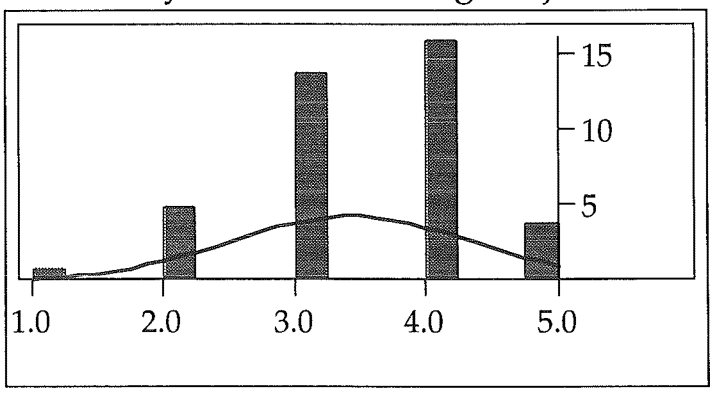
Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage
1	7	17.5%
2	12	30.0%
3	10	25.0%
4	6	15.0%
5	5	12.5%

Moments

Mean	2.750
Std Dev	1.276
Std Err Mean	0.201
upper 95% Mean	3.158
lower 95% Mean	2.341

Body Focus: exercising subjects



Frequencies

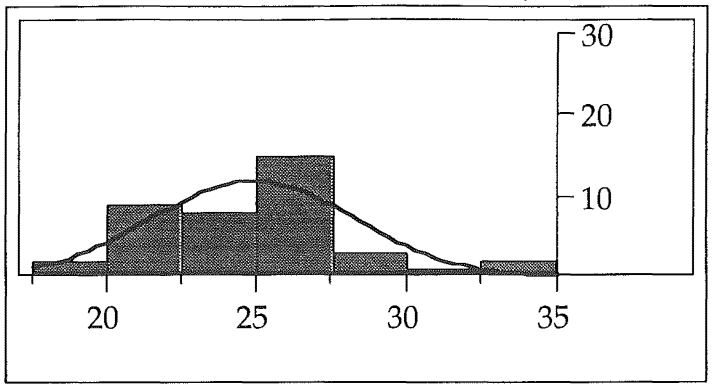
Level	Count	Probability
1	1	02.5%
2	5	12.5%
3	14	35.0%
4	16	40.0%
5	4	10.0%
Total	40	

Moments

Mean	3.42500
Std Dev	0.93060
Std Err Mean	0.14714
upper 95% Mean	3.72262
lower 95% Mean	3.12738

2.2 Body Mass Index

BMI: non-exercising subjects



Quantiles

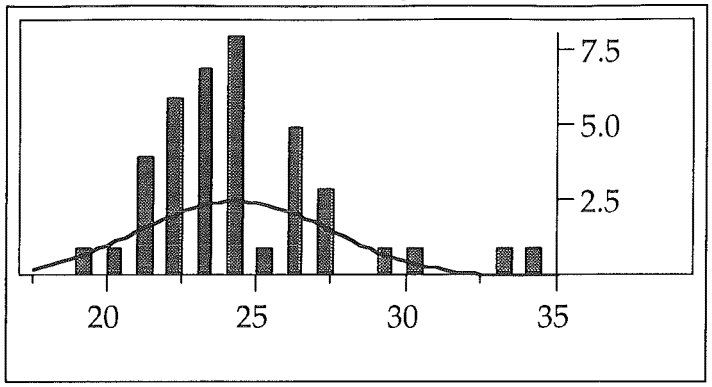
maximum	34.000
median	25.000
minimum	18.000

Moments Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage
18	1	2.5
19	1	2.5
20	1	2.5
21	2	5.0
22	6	15.0
23	3	7.5
24	5	12.5
25	4	10.0
26	5	12.5
27	6	15.0
28	2	5.0
29	1	2.5
30	1	2.5
33	1	2.5
34	1	2.5

Mean	24.85000
Std Dev	3.37829
Std Err Mean	0.53415
upper 95% Mean	25.93042
lower 95% Mean	23.76958
N	40.00000

BMI: exercising subjects



Quantiles

maximum	34.000
median	24.000
minimum	19.000

Frequencies

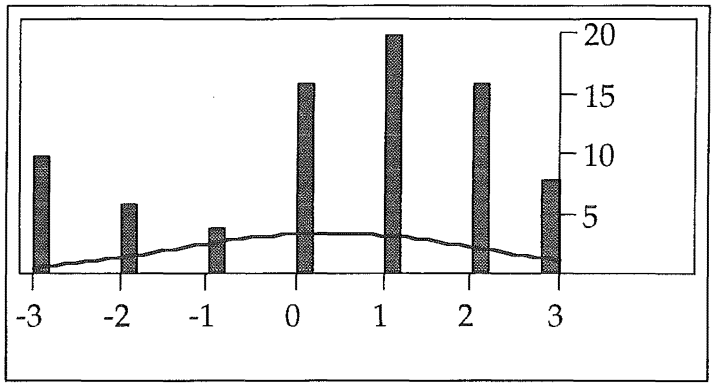
Level	Count	Percentage (%)
19	1	2.5
20	1	2.5
21	4	10.0
22	6	15.0
23	7	17.5
24	8	20.0
25	1	2.5
26	5	12.5
27	3	7.5
29	1	2.5
30	1	2.5
33	1	2.5
34	1	2.5
Total	40	

Moments

Mean	24.25
Std Dev	3.2
Std Err Mean	.50351
upper 95% Mean	25.6
lower 95% Mean	23.4
N	40

2.21 Body Shape Discrepancy

All Subjects

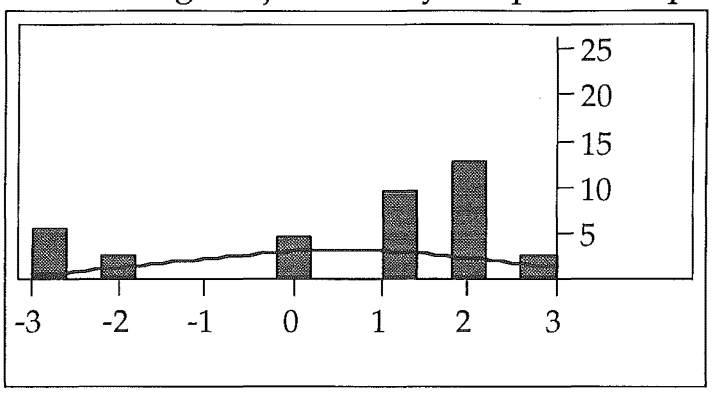


Moments

Mean	0.37500
Std Dev	1.82372
Std Err Mean	0.20390
upper 95% Mean	0.78085
lower 95% Mean	-0.03085

Level	Count	Percentages
-3	10	12.5%
-2	6	07.5%
-1	4	05.0%
0	16	20.0%
1	20	25.0%
2	16	20.0%
3	8	10.0%

Non exercising subjects: Body Shape Discrepancy

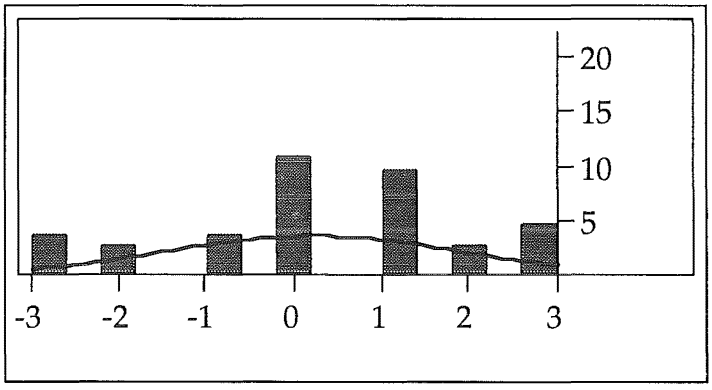


Quantiles

Level	Count	Percentage(%)
-3	6	15
-2	3	7.5
0	5	12.5
1	10	25.0
2	13	32.5
3	3	7.5

Mean	**0.52500**
Std Dev	**1.92137**

Body Shape Discrepancy: exercising subjects



Frequencies

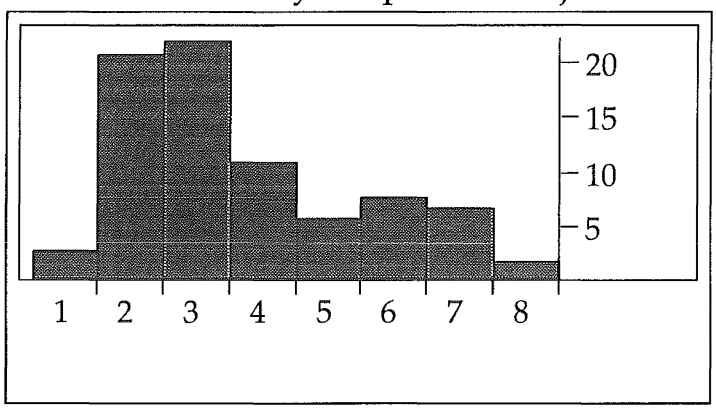
Level	Count	Percentage(%)
-3	4	10.0
-2	3	7.5
-1	4	10.0
0	11	27.5
1	10	25.0
2	3	7.5
3	5	12.5

Moments

Mean	0.22500
Std Dev	1.73187
Std Err Mean	0.27383
upper 95% Mean	0.77887
lower 95% Mean	-0.32887

2.22 Current Body Shape

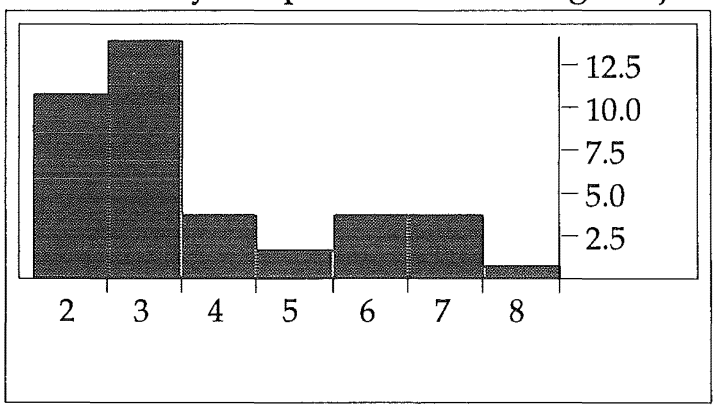
Current Body Shape: All subjects



Frequencies

Level	Count	Probability
1	3	3.75%
2	21	26.25%
3	22	27.5%
4	11	13.75%
5	6	7.5%
6	8	10.00%
7	7	8.75%
8	2	2.5%

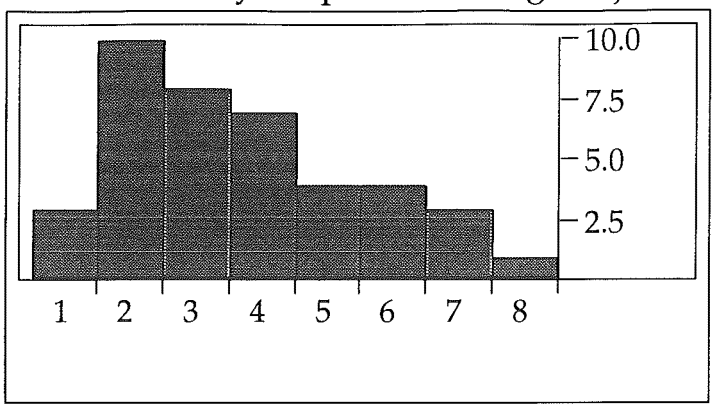
Current Body Shape: non-exercising subjects



Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage
2	11	27.5%
3	14	35.0%
4	4	10.0%
5	2	05.0%
6	4	10.0%
7	4	10.0%
8	1	02.5%

Current body shape: exercising subjects

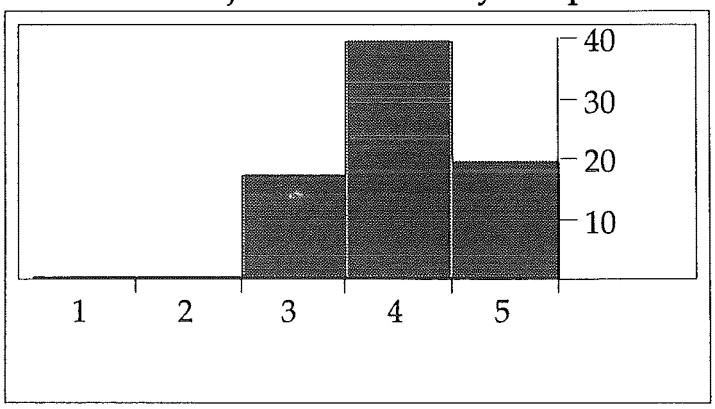


Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage
1	3	7.5%
2	10	25.0%
3	8	20.0%
4	7	17.5%
5	4	10.0%
6	4	10.0%
7	3	7.5%
8	1	2.5%

2.23 Ideal Body Shape

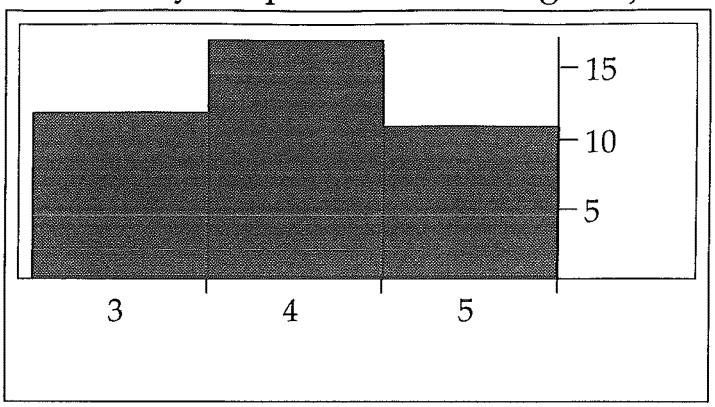
All Subjects: Ideal Body Shape



Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentages
1	1	1.2%
2	1	1.2%
3	18	22.5%
4	40	50%
5	20	25%
Total	80	

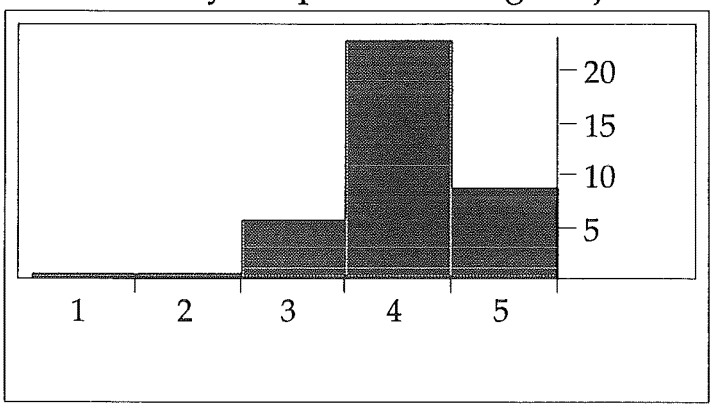
Ideal Body Shape non-exercising subjects



Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage(%)
3	12	30.0
4	17	42.5
5	11	27.5
Total	40	

Ideal Body Shape: exercising subjects

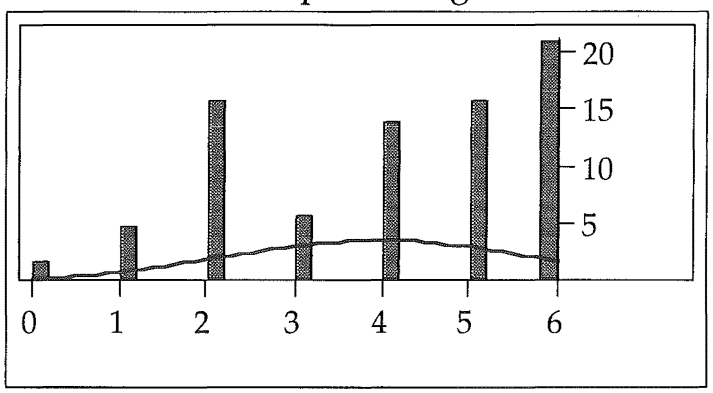


Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage
1	1	02.5%
2	1	02.5%
3	6	15.0%
4	23	57.5%
5	9	22.5%

2.24 SES distribution

Both Samples Merged

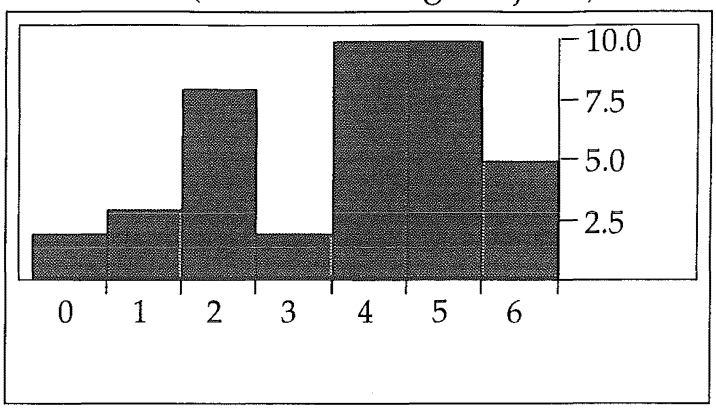


Level	Count	Percentage
0	2	2.5 %
1	5	6.2 %
2	16	20.0 %
3	6	7.5 %
4	14	17.5 %
5	16	20.0 %
6	21	26.2 %

Moments

Mean	3.96250
Std Dev	1.76781
Std Err Mean	0.19765
upper 95% Mean	4.35591
lower 95% Mean	3.56909

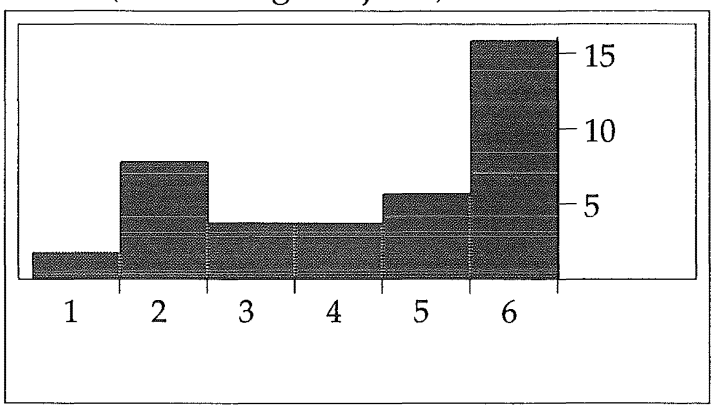
SES (non exercising subjects)



Frequencies

Level	Count	Probability(%)
0	2	5.0
1	3	7.5
2	8	20.0
3	2	5.0
4	10	25.0
5	10	25.0
6	5	12.5

SES (Exercising subjects)



Frequencies

Level	Count	Percentage(%)
1	2	5%
2	8	20%
3	4	10%
4	4	10%
5	6	15%
6	16	40%

Moments

Mean	4.30000
Std Dev	1.75704
Std Err Mean	0.27781
upper 95% Mean	4.86193
lower 95% Mean	3.73807

Appendix#3: Correlation Matrices

#3.1 Nonparametric Measures of Association: Exercising Sample

Variable by	*Variable*	*Spearman Rho*	*Prob>|Rho|*
BMI	BWD	-0.5561	0.0000
BSD	BWD	0.3647	0.0009
BSD	BMI	-0.5381	0.0000
BD	BWD	-0.4958	0.0000
BD	BMI	0.6430	0.0000
BD	BSD	-0.5477	0.0000
BF	BWD	-0.2637	0.0181
BF	BMI	0.2129	0.0579
BF	BSD	-0.2338	0.0369
BF	BD	0.1368	0.2262
BWS	BWD	-0.0619	0.5854
BWS	BMI	-0.0504	0.6567
BWS	BSD	-0.2103	0.0612
BWS	BD	-0.0062	0.9564
BWS	BF	0.3284	0.0029
SES	BWD	-0.1717	0.1278
SES	BMI	0.0214	0.8506
SES	BSD	-0.2322	0.0382
SES	BD	0.1578	0.1622
SES	BF	0.3026	0.0064
SES	BWS	0.4522	0.0000

Variable	*by Variable*	*Kendall Tau b*	*Prob>|Tau b|*
BMI	BWD	-0.4422	0.0000
BSD	BWD	0.2767	0.0010
BSD	BMI	-0.4179	0.0000
BD	BWD	-0.4175	0.0000
BD	BMI	0.5556	0.0000
BD	BSD	-0.4682	0.0000
BF	BWD	-0.2012	0.0190
BF	BMI	0.1688	0.0534
BF	BSD	-0.1911	0.0337
BF	BD	0.1139	0.2271
BWS	BWD	-0.0477	0.5795
BWS	BMI	-0.0366	0.6765
BWS	BSD	-0.1771	0.0500
BWS	BD	-0.0043	0.9637
BWS	BF	0.2720	0.0032
SES	BWD	-0.1235	0.1428
SES	BMI	0.0151	0.8608
SES	BSD	-0.1847	0.0367
SES	BD	0.1290	0.1638
SES	BF	0.2359	0.0091
SES	BWS	0.3675	0.0001

#3.2 Correlations of Non-Exercising Sample Nonparametric Measures of Association

Variable	by Variable	Spearman Rho	Prob>|Rho|
BMI	BWD	-0.5561	0.0000
BSD	BWD	0.3647	0.0009
BSD	BMI	-0.5381	0.0000
BD	BWD	-0.4958	0.0000
BD	BMI	0.6430	0.0000
BD	BSD	-0.5477	0.0000
BF	BWD	-0.2637	0.0181
BF	BMI	0.2129	0.0579
BF	BSD	-0.2338	0.0369
BF	BD	0.1368	0.2262
BWS	BWD	-0.0619	0.5854
BWS	BMI	-0.0504	0.6567
BWS	BSD	-0.2103	0.0612
BWS	BD	-0.0062	0.9564
BWS	BF	0.3284	0.0029
SES	BWD	-0.1717	0.1278
SES	BMI	0.0214	0.8506
SES	BSD	-0.2322	0.0382
SES	BD	0.1578	0.1622
SES	BF	0.3026	0.0064
SES	BWS	0.4522	0.0000

Variable	by Variable	Kendall Tau b	Prob>|Tau b|
BMI	BWD	-0.4422	0.0000
BSD	BWD	0.2767	0.0010
BSD	BMI	-0.4179	0.0000
BD	BWD	-0.4175	0.0000
BD	BMI	0.5556	0.0000
BD	BSD	-0.4682	0.0000
BF	BWD	-0.2012	0.0190
BF	BMI	0.1688	0.0534
BF	BSD	-0.1911	0.0337
BF	BD	0.1139	0.2271
BWS	BWD	-0.0477	0.5795
BWS	BMI	-0.0366	0.6765
BWS	BSD	-0.1771	0.0500
BWS	BD	-0.0043	0.9637
BWS	BF	0.2720	0.0032
SES	BWD	-0.1235	0.1428
SES	BMI	0.0151	0.8608
SES	BSD	-0.1847	0.0367
SES	BD	0.1290	0.1638
SES	BF	0.2359	0.0091
SES	BWS	0.3675	0.0001